mcgill daily

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FATHER MALONE: Getting it all together?

Loyola approves merger

MONTREAL (CUP)—After weeks of delay, the Loyola College Board of Trustees has finally approved the terms for a merger with Sir George Williams University.

Announcing the approval to the College Senate November 21, Loyola President Father Patrick Malone said "This does not ensure the future of Loyola. The ball is in your court, the students and the faculty, and it will be dependent on your creativity and imagination to make sure Loyola continues to exist."

The final terms were amended somewhat to appease elements of the Loyola Science Faculty which had bitterly opposed the proposed elimination of an Honours Science program on the Loyola Campus. Malone said to compromise, worked out by the universities' Joint Negotiation Committee "...allows science people to work out their own destiny'.

He said that, despite minor objections, "there was no attack on the substance of the document, and it isn't the final statement of the university."

The plan proposes two joint faculties—Engineering, and Commerce and Administration—and Faculties of Arts and Science at both Sir George and Loyola.

Although the merger was slated to begin in September 1973, the two campuses will continue to function as separate institutions through 1973-74, not because there are any problems with the new university, Malone claimed, but because the two universities have already made preparations for that year.

Malone envisaged very few immediate changes but many joint operations and activities by 1974-75.

Some Loyola spokesmen wanted parity representation with Sir George on the new Joint Senate, "but the trustees didn't even entertain that motion", Malone said. Sir George representatives will constitute 65% of the new Senate and Loyola 35%. This composition is to be reviewed in five years.

Malone said the provincial government will probably approve the merger terms without any problems. An Education Department representative participated in negotiations at various points.

With the major stumbling block to the merger cleared, much work remains. The negotiating committees must determine the powers of the structural levels within the new university, choose a new name for the merged institution, and arrange for various non-academic administrative structures.

by susan wheeler

Noumoff on China

Peking, China, 1958. Nine years have lapsed since the success of the revolution that established the Peoples' Republic of China. Ten urban housewives decide to build a "courtyard factory." They have no skills, no equipment, only 2 rooms and a simple lathe. Their motto: 'If there is no equipment, we must build it. If there are no rooms, we must construct them. If there is no knowledge, we must learn."

By 1971, the number of women workers had grown to 100 and they were busily producing precision levels and silicon single crystal cutting devices.

In Sian, a group of young students were assigned to work in a yet-to-be-completed light bulb factory. The students entered the factory and began production with primitive equipment. With the projected completion date of the factory still 2 years away, they were producing at 50% capacity. In addition, they were instructing local peasants in the production of light bulbs so that the peasants later became self-sufficient with regard to that commodity.

In another instance, a group of urban intellectuals and engineers went into the rural areas to construct a commune that would help protect three neighbouring villages from soil erosion and flooding. Faced with the problem of feeding themselves, these urban-dwellers were forced to rely on the local peasants for instruction. In this relationship of dependence, these functionaries and engineers came to understand how incorrect their own attitudes had been with regard to the "illiterate" peasants. They were forced to examine themselves and their own attitudes, and came to understand what was meant by "serving the people."

These three stories were used by Prof. Samuel Noumoff to illustrate the various problems facing the Chinese Revolution and the solutions to them that constituted the Cultural Revolution. Noumoff was speaking last night at a Political Science Staff Seminar to a group of about 30 students and staff on the subject of "China: A preliminary Assessment."

The two basic points Noumoff raised were the relationship of the base to the superstructure, and the continuity of social change in the Peoples' Republic after 28 years of revolutionary activity and 17 years of socialist construction. He further elaborated on the various problems that faced China.

Technological development in

continued on page 6



SAM NOUMOFF daily photo by chris busby

HUMBUG

The ghost of Christmas Issue yet to come haunts the *Daily* office. Seance at 4:00 today for all staffers.

LEAN AND HUNGRY/BY GEORGE KOPP



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Cancellation: Pierre Jasmin concert will not take place due to illness.

Faculty of Music:
Lunch Concert. Beethoven trio, opus 1 no. 3 in C minor: Carl Urquhart, piano; Beverly Schnoeder, violin; Tom Mirhady, cello. Auditorium, 555 Sherbrooke St. West. Free. 12:30 pm.

S.C.M. Yellow Door Coffeehouse:
Music this weekend: John Lutz, 8-12 pm,, today and tomorrow; Sunday—FolkMass at 11:30 am; Hoot at 8:00 pm. Lunch is served on weekends too (even Sunday). P.S. Bruce Murdoch will be giving a concert (with Kevin Head) in the Selby Cafeteria at Dawson College, on Saturday night, at 8:30. That's all.

Dept. of English Drama:
Presents *A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM* by Shakespeare. Moyse Hall. 8:00 pm. Admission $2.50. Tickets available at Union Box Office, 392-8926 or at the door. Two performances Sat. Nov. 25. Matinee at 2:00 ($1,50) and evening at 8:00 ($2.50).

Free Telegrams:
Via amateur radio. Info at Union box office or rm. 401 or 392-8942.

Stamp Club:
Meeting 12-1:30 pm. Union 411. All are welcome.

Pre-Med Society:
Presents Dr. J. H. Darragh, Associate Dean (Admissions) McGill Medical School on "Medical Admissions at McGill". Francis Seminar Room, 4th floor, McIntyre Medical Bldg. (enter via Medical Library, 3rd floor.)

Christian Fellowship:
Daily Prayer meeting 8:30 am. Union 307.

Murder at McGill:
One week left in Round 1. Get'em while they last.

Community McGill:
A young boy, 7, who is living with his elderly grandparents, needs a big brother to take him out to do interesting things at his speed. A friendship based on spending one afternoon a week with him and making a few phone calls in between visits might make quite a difference to this child. More information Union 414, 392-8980 from 11-4 pm.

Pub Nite Phase II:
Presented by E.U.S. and R.V.C. "old cafeteria", 641 Sherbrooke St. W. (corner of Sherbrooke and University). Friday, November 24 at 8:00 pm. Band: Weight and 3 beers/$1.00.

MOC:
Square Dance Tonight at 8 pm. in the Union Ballroom. Come kick up your heels! Members 25c, nonmembers 50c.

MSSA:
'Malaysian and Singapore in Focus' broadcasting at 5-7 pm. Come tune in with us at the ISA lounge. Bring friends and moral support. Malaysian snacks will be served.

Ukrainian Club:
Urgent meeting of all McGill Ukrainian Students—fate of club and elections on the agenda. Today in Union 307, 1:00-3:00 pm.

Women's Inter-Collegiate Ice Hockey:
Today the McGill girls meet the team from York U. at the arena, 5:00 pm. Drop by to cheer the girls on.

Med School Applicants:
Members of the first year medical class will be available to discuss medical school applications and to provide information to anyone interested in the McGill Faculty of Medicine. Hours will be Monday 1:00-2:00 pm and Friday 12:00-1:00 pm at the Medical Students Society office, 6th floor. McIntyre Medical Sciences Building. If you can't make it at these times, call the Faculty of Medicine general office.

Wine and Cheese Party:
6:30 pm in the Union Coffee Lounge. $1.00 admission includes 1 wine, cheese and band. 3 wines/$1.00. Tickets at the Box Office and door. Sponsored by Nursing Undergrads (for scholarship fund). Open to everyone!

Film Society:
Suspense series presents "Cry Terror" (US 1958) Director A. L. Stone. Starring James Mason and Rod Steiger. Admission 50c in Leacock 132 at 7:00 pm and 9:30 pm.

STOP:
Organizing meeting for STOP, 9:45 am, at Law Faculty. Public meeting to discuss Bill 34 on environment. Dr. Victor Goldbloom, Quebec Minister of Environment will answer questions.

Media McGill:
"Repulsion" starring Catherine Deneuve and directed by Roman Polanski. At 7:00 pm and 9:30 pm in FDA Auditorium (PSCA).

English Department Free Poetry Film Series:
2 films; Richard Wilbur and Robert Lawell then Allen Ginsberg and Lawrence Ferlingetti. Leacock 112 at 2 pm.

Caribbean Students:
Have you forgotten? The gym is where it's at. Come prepared to play basketball, volleyball, ping pong and badminton. Don't forget your swim suits, to cool it all off in the pool. See you at 2 pm.

MSSA (Sat., Nov. 25):
Presents Prof. Noumoff, Political Science Dept., on 'South-East Asia in the Post-Indo-China War Period', at 4 pm at 455 Sherbrooke St. W., #202.

Radio McGill (Sat., Nov. 25):
"Streetnoise" on CFQR at 92.5 FM from 12 midnight to 3 am.

what's what

PERSIAN LESSONS

Call Javade Es'haghi at 844-0717 and leave message. You can get a copy of his new book Cours de Langue Persane en Français (phonétique, textes comparés et conjugaison) for $10 by writing Javade Es'haghi, BP 1253, Station B, Montreal 110.

SAIDYE BRONFMAN CENTRE

Another in the Sunday Series of Panel Discussions will be presented on November 26, at 2:00 pm. The topic is entitled, "Terror and Violence: Their Moral and Political Implications". The panel will consists of Dr. Vivan Rakoff, Dept. of Psychiatry, University of Toronto; Professor William Westley, Dept. of Sociology, McGill University; Robert Lemieux, Advocate. The moderator: Mr. Danny Paltiel. The Saidye Bronfman Centre is located at 5170 Cote St. Catherine Road. For further information call 739-2301.

WOMEN'S INFORMATION EXCHANGE

Does your women's group know what other groups are doing?

Consciousness-raising groups —where are you? What are you involved in?

Women—are you interested in the Women's Movement? We must get together! Come to the Women's Information Exchange on Saturday, November 25, from 1-4 pm at the University Settlement, 3553 St. Urbain St. For more information call Jean at 849-2738 or Feminist Communication Collective at 284-3132.

by huntley haverstock

Occupied!

MONTREAL (GETA)—Over 2,000 militant students have occupied the McLennan and Redpath Libraries at McGill.

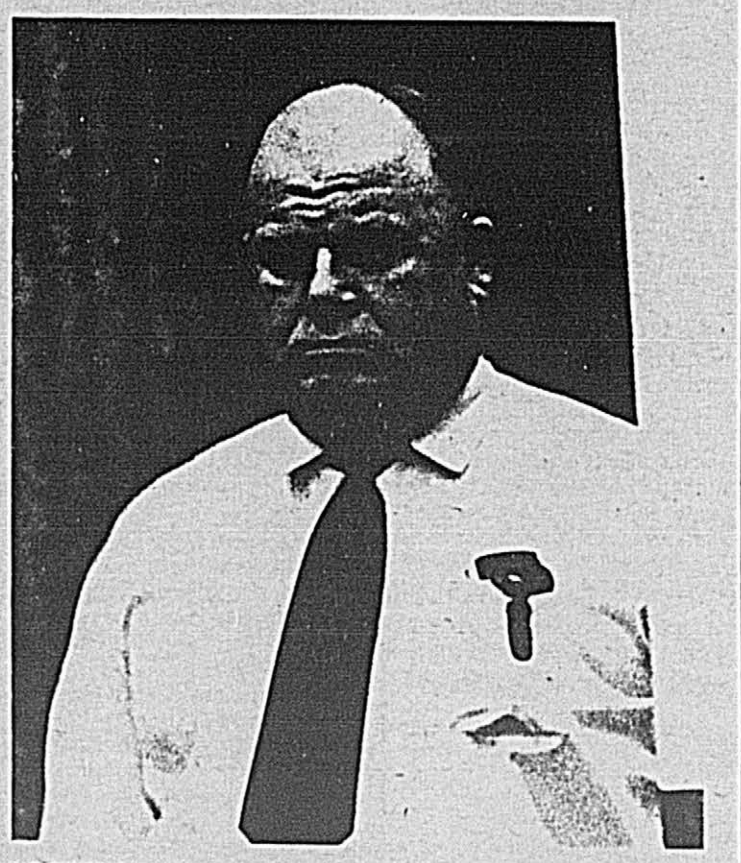
It appears that the Library staff, the Administration, and the President of the Students' Society were caught off guard by the move.

At a joint press conference held late last night it was announced that the normally serene halls of the library were crowded with approximately 2,000 students. The Chief Librarian, Ms. Decimal Dewey said," . . .we had no warning at all that the occupation was to take place. In fact, the library has been, on the whole, quieter than most years and definitely more conducive to study. This year we have even received notes in the suggestion box thanking us for our successful campaign to reduce the noise level."

Students' Society President E. Leckme at the same press conference commented that the mood on campus this year had seemed rather blase and that there had been "absolutely no indications that this type of occupation or similar action was to take place."

A student who was originally one of the occupiers described the scene: "There were about 2,000 very agitated students in the libraries. They grabbed books off the shelves and ran to and from their desks. They seemed to be repeating slogans under their breath but it was extremely difficult to comprehend what they were saying. The more militant students have organized a co-operative coffee service whereby breaks for groups have been abolished and instead the coffee is brought to the students by the members of the collective on a rotating basis. Things seemed to be running very smoothly."

One of the leaders of the occupation said in a phone interview, "We feel that we have taken an important step but we are determined not to leave until we are sure we can get straight A's."



LIBRARY SECURITY was tightened last night in the wake of an unprecedented student occupation of the McLennan and Redpath Libraries. The administration is not expected to give in to student demands.

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mcgill daily

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Editorial

The politics of reporting

It has often been said that campus newspapers enjoy both a captive readership and a guaranteed income, thus allowing the editors to feel free from the restraints of law and good taste which might limit the editorial freewheeling of those papers forced to compete for readers. These newspapers, the argument continues, might quickly discover a latent sense of responsibility if forced to compete in the market.

But the article being printed in today's *Daily* shows that for the rich newspaper owners there is no competition in the market. The process of consolidation has created chains and media empires and thus has effectively eliminated the small, independent daily newspapers.

The situation is very similar in both Canada and in the United States. "At the present rate of expansion," says Thomas J. McIntyre of the United States Senate, "all of the daily newspapers—I said *all* of them—will be owned by chains in less than twenty years."

There should be no doubt about the fact that there are vested interests be be served in the profitable publishing industry, and that the guiding factor in the coverage of news and portrayal of events is the attempt to sustain the prosperity of their enterprises. This also means that they are committed to defend and preserve an economic structure which ensures a continuous flow of profit in their direction.

Nicholas Johnson, a member of the Federal Communications Commission in an article written in the *Atlantic Monthly* (June 1968) made the following significant observation: "Economic self-interest does influence the content of the media, and as the media tend to fall into the control of corporate conglomerates, the areas of information and opinion affecting those economic interests become dangerously wide-ranging."

As for the campus newspapers, in those universities where the student press is an extension of the journalism school, one finds the most conservative publications. Reporters know that their university writing is mainly an apprenticeship stage on the road to the media establishment. They therefore suit their style to what is expected of them.

Many campus newspapers, however, are "progressive" and do not hesitate in pointing out contradictions in society. The Special Senate Committee on Mass Media talked about such papers in this manner: "This is the Soviet view of journalism—that all observed experience must be interpreted in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory . . . If it violates our prevailing canons of 'objectivity' . . . then there is something wrong with our journalistic assumptions."

As shown earlier, the general public receive most of their information about social reality from huge corporate newspapers. Since information is presented in a piecemeal manner, it is understandable that events are perceived in isolation from each other. This refusal to see events in their organic relationships is typical of those whose interests it is to defend the status quo. For a deeper analysis leads to the questioning of the basic structure of society itself.

Because student newspapers are not subjected to the same economic pressures as the bourgeois press, they are in a position to assess facts in a more disinterested manner and to show links between events.

The *Daily* this year has rejected the notion of uncommitted objectivity. In addition to covering routine campus events, the *Daily* has tried to initiate serious debate on issues at McGill and in society at large. The controversies sparked on certain topics, as reflected in *Letters* and in *From our Readers* columns, is a measure of the success achieved in this endeavour.

We urge our readers to continue their necessary contribution in these debates on the issues and contradictions in this society.

Nesar Ahmad

Michel Celemenski

letters

Banana split

The Palestinian State

New structures for the ISA

Yes, we have lotsa Bananas

Sir,

The showing of the movie *Bananas* by the MFS was repulsive. The Movie was a blatant example of sexism, racism, antisemitism, and ridicule of small revolutionary governments. A petition should be drawn condemning the members of the MFS for sponsoring such a despicable movie. The showing of this film was in bad taste, and the best way to deal with something like this is to speak up. The issue should not degenerate into a personal vendetta against McGill Film Society staffers. I believe they should be removed, not as a personal vendetta, but to show that such behavior will not be tolerated.

Richard Gomberg

PS: L132 was packed.

ISA

Sir,

In the past, there was very little co-operation between the national clubs, and the ISA as we know it today did not exist. The ISA was not recognized as the organization representing foreign students. Instead it became identified with the small group of people who were on the ISA executive.

This year, the ISA has come to be recognized as an overall organization representing all the national clubs and foreign students on campus. All national clubs send a representative (usually the president) to the ISA Council which meets once a month and makes all major decisions affecting foreign students. The day to day administration is left to the ISA Co-ordinating Committee.

Many people believe this new structure of the ISA is a more suitable structure than the old one. The national clubs while retaining their autonomy have found it to their advantage to work together and the ISA has been able to more effectively look after the interest of foreign students.

In order to make sure that this new structure will be maintained in the future a new constitution for the ISA embodying this principle has been proposed. Discussions on the new constitution are being carried out everyday in the ISA office—Union B-40 at 1 pm. All are welcome.

International Students' Association

Palestinian-Bedouin nation . . .

Sir,

For the past few weeks I have been reading some biased letters and articles with reference to the Arab-Israeli conflict. I have read some naive statement made by pro-Israel students and some slanderous ones by pro-Palestinians.

Being an Israeli and a Jew, I fervently think that Jews have a right to their own national self-determination and I would be able to argue this point with what I consider to be valid assertions. I doubt, though, whether I would be able to change any pro-Palestinian's strong convictions.

Let me then get to the point I wish to contend with. Two facts must be acknowleged: Israel does exist as a strong Jewish State and there are over a million Palestinian refugees outside Israel. As the situation exists, no amount of terrorism will affect Israel's stand. On the contrary. These acts evoke retaliation or similar acts of terror on the part of Israel.

Another reality which the pro-Palestinians must contend with is that the vast majority of Jews in Israel would never (for many diverse reasons) consent to Palestinian repatriation within pre-1967 Israeli boundaries. Any attempts made to theorize the validity of this repatriation are therefore futile.

It is because of these two basic facts that I think some thought should be given to plans entailing the creation of an independent Palestinian State outside Israel proper. There are two such plans currently in existence. The first is the Allon Plan, which involves the creation of a demilitarised Palestinian State in the West Bank and Gaza (which were, before their 1948 annexation by Jordan and Egypt respectively, part of Palestine). The other plan, proposed by Hussein, would incorporate the West Bank and Gaza into the existing Jordanian state with the intent of creating a coherent Palestinian-Bedouin nation.

Plans such as these must be considered if peace is to be attained. Nothing can through the propagation of anti-Zionism (which very often resembles all too menacingly the stand taken by anti-Semites). Neither can anything be achieved if chauvinistic Israelis are not prepared to make some concessions.

Issac Dorenbush E1

gay

November 24, 1972



Our gayness
is not something,
like skin colour,
or sex,
or infirmity,
immediately
apparent to
both us
and others.
We have to
discover our
homosexuality
and having
discovered it
we have
a wide range
of options,
hardly
available to
others who are
stigmatized,
as to
how far
we should
reveal
our
stigma.

Dennis Altman
Homosexual Oppression
and Liberation

The Politics of Gay Liberation

Reform or Revolution?

—bruce garside

The gay movement as it has developed in Canada, America and Western Europe has been represented by two political stances. The predominant position in the sense of numerical and organizational strength asserts that the struggle against sexism is primarily a civil rights issue to be fought by extending the doctrine of individual rights to exclude discrimination on the basis of sex and sexual preference. Other gay activists regard the struggle against sexual oppression to be a revolutionary one in the sense that it necessarily extends beyond a civil rights issue.

Civil Rights

As a civil rights issue the goals of gay liberation and its tactics are reminiscent of both the early stages of the black movement in the States and that of the more contemporary women's movement. Among the goals being sought are an end to discrimination in employment, abolition of laws against homosexuality, equality in taxation, an end to pejorative references to homosexuality in the press and a realization of the oppressive character of traditional religious and psychiatric views of homosexuality. The tactics of the gay civil rights movement include sit-ins, boycotts, petitions, demonstrations and other techniques familiar to the black movement.

The supposition of most of those who support the gay movement as a civil rights issue is that the oppression of gays can be eliminated within the confines of our present society. Those concerned with gay civil rights are primarily liberals, though that should not detract from the courage and strength they have shown or from the obvious benefits their actions have already brought to gay people.

Liberal rejection of Marxism

It must be admitted that the liberal gay rejection of Marxism on the basis of persistent sexism in post-revolutionary societies has some justification. Any attempt to defend, for example, the Cuba treatment of gay people is necessarily apologetic in character. While not denying that the Cuban revolution has been in other ways a liberation for the people, it is clear that little attempt has been made to move away from the traditional anti-gay attitudes of Latin society.

Immediately after the revolution, no attempt was made to distinguish between those gays who supported the revolution and those who were a part of the general moral corruption of Havana. It was assumed, and evidently still is by otherwise radical spokesman, that prostitution and homosexuality are justifiably lumped together. No attempt was or has been made to include gays in the revolution, resulting in the necessity of those who supported the revolution to remain "closeted." Having excluded gays from the revolution, it is rather hypocritical to justify their oppression on the grounds that they are outside the revolution. True, gay people are no longer imprisoned in Cuba, but a relatively recent proclamation of the government excludes them from the party and from representing their country in education or the arts abroad.

Probably few people would disagree with gay liberals that sexual oppression directed against both women and gays persists in the Marxist countries of Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. It is possible to point to those Marxist countries we know least about, e.g., China and North Vietnam, as places where the struggle against sexism is being waged with some vigour. Unfortunately, there is little information on the condition of gays in those countries, but what does filter through is not very hopeful. While in China attempts are evidently being made to eliminate persisting economic and educational discrimination against women, there seems to be no such attempt to eliminate sexism directed against gay people.

All of which leads to a certain sympathy toward the rejection of Marxism by gay people who have a civil rights orientation. It can be appreciated that if the struggle against gay oppression is seen as a civil rights issue, those rights still have to be fought for in post-revolutionary societies, and that it sometimes seems as if such a struggle would be more likely to succeed in a pre-revolutionary, liberal society.

The position that the gay liberation struggle is simply a civil rights issue is normally based upon one of two possible attitudes. First, the liberal position represents the view that there is no intrinsic relationship between sexism and other forms of social and political oppression. A second, not uncommon Marxist position is that sexism merely represents an offshoot of economic oppression. According to this view, the gay movement is a civil rights movement because it relates simply to the effects and not to the ultimate causes of oppression. To oppose the ultimate causes would be revolutionary, while to oppose the effects is merely reformist.

The liberal attitude could be countered by showing an intrinsic connection between sexism and other forms of oppression, the hypothetical Marxist position by questioning the reductionism upon which it is based.

Sex And Work

There are several factors which would lead to the conclusion that sexual oppression is an intrinsic aspect of the social situation in which we find ourselves. One such factor is the relationship between the deflection of sexual desires from their satisfaction and work. At least up to a certain point, the more sexual energies are denied their fulfillment, the more energy is available to be channelled into the work process. While some amount of deflection is probably a pre-requisite for there being any society at all, Freud felt that in the present society the limitations placed upon sexual expression had gone too far and represented a serious injustice.

The emphasis upon work as a criterion of self-worth in capitalist society necessitates the control and exploitation of sexuality. Sex becomes valuable only to the extent that sexual satisfaction enables an individual to perform more completely her or his social role. Sexuality must be fitted into the general aims of productivity. A more accepting attitude toward sexual expression and diversity would necessitate corresponding reappraisals of the concepts of work and self-worth.

Another factor linking sexism with our current society is the relationship between sexual oppression and aggression. It would seem likely that the more one's sexuality is frustrated, the more anger would be directed toward both the self and the environment. Hence, it could be expected that the level of aggression, expressed in some forms of sado-masochism, would increase with an increase of sexual oppression. While there is no justification for associating sadism with homosexuality in particular, it does seem connected with the repression of sexuality in general. Both homosexual and heterosexual desires, when denied their gratification, can readily emerge in the form of sadistic aggression. A relaxation of repressive attitudes toward sexuality should lead to a lessening of sado-masochistic manifestations in society. Since capitalist societies rely considerably upon such aggression for their internal and external protection, it is questionable that they could long survive such a relaxation.

Sex And Capitalism

A third factor linking the struggle against sexism with other forms of social and political oppression is that within capitalist society—among others—sexism has been exploited to enhance and secure the position of the ruling classes. The forms that such exploitation assumes in relation to women are well known and include such elements as the availability of a cheap labour force. A male homosexual may profit from such exploitation, but usually under the condition that he either be "closeted" or be allowed to engage in one of the few occupations available to those who are openly gay. Nevertheless, all gay men suffer from the exploitation of women in society.

The existence of gay men threatens the masculine self-image which is one of the foundations of male supremacy in our society. Hence, the same ideology which allows for the oppression of women compels male homosexuals either to conceal their identity or to exist in a ghetto. The fact that male homosexuals are often sexist in relation to women illustrates a common factor among all oppressed groups: the oppressed assume or internalize the values of their oppressors. Not only do oppressed homosexuals indulge in their own self-hatred, they often adopt with a vengeance the values of society in order to gain acceptance. Consumerism, opposition to gay liberation, and sexist attitudes toward women form the homosexual equivalent of Uncle Toms in relation to the black movement and the rather fierce female antagonists to women's liberation. It is part of the goal of gay liberation to eliminate such sexism among male homosexuals and in society as a whole. Again, such a goal, if achieved, would require a radical alteration of society as we know it.

Cause And Effect

In regard to the hypothetical Marxist position that gay liberation relates only to the effects, rather than the underlying causes, of oppression, it should first be pointed out that the same argument would apply in relation to the women's movement. Both are directed against sexism, and if the one is merely a civil rights issue, so is the other. The position rests on a species of the fallacy of reductionism. Reductionism involves regarding a particular range of phenomena, usually demarcated within a theoretical structure, as providing the fundamental causal factors at work in the world. The attempt is made to reduce all causal explanations to those factors which are taken as basic. The appeal of reductionism to the human mind is quite understandable. It allows for a comparatively simplified structure of explanation for events in the world and permits its exponent a higher degree of rhetorical agility than is possessed by a non-reductionist.

Varieties of Reductionism

There are several candidates offering a reductionist world-view in our society. One is what William James referred to as "medical materialism," the reduction of all human action to physiological occurrences. Another is put forth by some Freudian theorists and involves the explanation of all human phenomena in terms of that theoretical structure. Yet others can be provided by thorough-going religious systems.

The hypothetical Marxist position sketched above is itself an alternative reductionist theory. It attempts to reduce all occurrences in human society to the operation of economic forces. It would have to develop a theory of sexism into which other than economic forces did not function as primary causes. Such an explanation of sexism, were someone to develop it, would have a status similar to an attempt to reduce the lust after material gain to anal retentiveness. In

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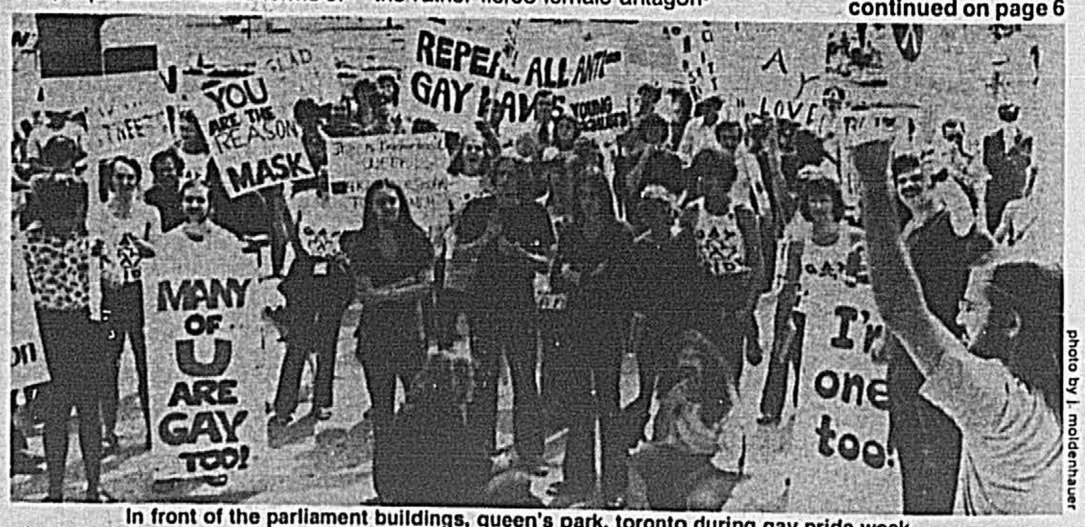


photo by j. moldenhauer

In front of the parliament buildings, queen's park, toronto during gay pride week.

THESE PEOPLE ARE ALL @CKSUCKERS @CKSUCKERS @CKSUCKERS @CKSUCKERS

History

Toronto & Vancouver



photo by G. hannon

The authors

—jearld moldenhauer & bob wallace

In a takeoff on the Kinsey statistics, a 1968 Globe & Mail article on homosexuality offered these facts: "There are more male homosexuals in Toronto than there are male Jews. For Canada . . .the male homosexual population, active or latent is approximately 1.8 million—larger than the combined populations of Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The figures for women are about 1/3 those for men." This means that even by the most conservative estimate there at least 2 million gay Canadians.

Gay liberation is a movement essentially concerned with human relations. Homosexuality is the focal point of our concern because it is in the expression of these feelings that we are oppressed. Understanding homosexual oppression inevitably leads to greater insights into all aspects of oppressive human behaviour.

Gay women's and children's liberation are all about the same thing: freedom to BE without roles; freedom from definitions and socialization which attempts to limit our ways of being and thinking; and freedom from persecution for expressing the love and imagination which constitute our individuality and affirm our existence. As well as dealing with the oppressive nature of society (anti-gay laws and attitudes) and with the residual aspects of our own sexist conditioning, it is the movement's obligation to work toward an increased sense of gay community and to provide the social services essential to our brothers and sisters.

These 3 objectives constitute the core of the Canadian gay liberation movement. Although especially progressive gay organizations exist in Ottawa and Saskatoon as well as in Toronto and Vancouver, we will limit this discussion to an historical consideration of gay liberation in the two larger urban centres.

The autonomous aspects of university functioning and the genuine or at least token defense of political and social freedom attributed to the academic world, make the university a logical place in which to begin organizing the gay community. Although within a large metropolitan area the university based group may soon outgrow the ability to serve the needs of the larger community, in a small town situation, a university oriented gay movement continues to offer the most practical organizational base. The evolution of Toronto's movement provides an indication of this.

By the end of its first year, University of Toronto Homophile Association meetings were so crowded that it became imperative to organize a larger, community based organization. With George Hislop as founding force, the Community Homophile association of Toronto came into being during January of 1971. A small office was rented and CHAT secured use of downtown Toronto's Holy Trinity Church for meetings and dances.

Impetus was added in February when CHAT became the first gay organization to receive financial assistance from the federal government:funded as an Opportunities for Youth project, CHAT was able to initiate its social service work, hiring gay people to operate a 24 hr. telephone distress service, to offer personal counselling, and to provide courtroom aid to gays busted because of discriminatory laws and police entrapment.

In July 1971 several CHAT activists suggested a demonstration in Ottawa for the presentation of a brief demanding the elimination of anti-gay statutes in the Criminal Code and Immigration Act. CHAT's decision not to formally sponsor the effort (probably related to CHAT's attempt keep a low key political profile while receiving Liberal government funding, and as well reflecting the reality that CHAT membership cuts across all levels of political consciousness) precipitated the founding of Toronto Gay Action.

TGA organized Canada's first gay protest demonstration in Ottawa on August 28, 1971, while Vancouver gay groups held a supportative protest. Since its founding, TGA has been responsible for several political efforts, including a picket of the CBC for its documentary on homosexuality ("*Nothing To Hide*"), filmed in New York with anti-gay psychiatrist L. Hatterer as the "expert" around whom the show was oriented. Leafletting the Parkside Tavern in order to put an end to police entrapment of gays in that bar's washroom, and the annual leafletting of Hallowe'en crowds (upwards of 10,000) which gather to watch the drag queens parade down Yonge Street are other examples of TGA's political activism.

A further expansion of the gay movement came with the establishment of *The Body Politic*, a gay newspaper which sought to offer a new, more positive basis for gay action. An outgrowth of TGA, the paper allowed radical workers to extend their sphere of influence and converse with gays across the country.

In *Love's Body*, Norman O. Brown wrote that "The revolutionary idea in psychoanalysis is the idea of the body as a political organization,—a body politic; as a historical variable, as plastic." This quotation provides an indication of the paper's primary function: to provide a dialogic vehicle for the analysis of sexual politics. In the past the scandal oriented straight press has tended to ignore or misrepresent the gay movement, thereby contributing to the oppression of homosexuals. Through providing national coverage for gays, *The Body Politic* attempts to create an awareness of societal oppression and to facilitate the "coming out" process.

Just as the Toronto movement has moved increasingly towards more concrete social analysis, the Vancouver organizations have tended to move away from the local politics of personality toward those based upon concrete issues. Originally, the Vancouver scene was dominated by the Gay

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Montreal-FLH

—luc doré

The Front de Libération homosexuelle (FLH) has been in existence for one year. Although the FLH was the first gay group to be organized in Montreal, few people are aware of its existence, its history or its orientation. This article is an attempt to clarify some of these points.

The first steps: During the winter of 1971, a dozen people, most of them associated with *Mainmise*, a Montreal underground magazine, began meeting at each other's apartments to discuss gay issues. The group grew rapidly, and by Summer 1971, it was necessary to hold meetings at the University Settlement.

Organization Hassles: Since FLH was the only gay group in Montreal, it attracted gay people representing various ideological and political persuasions. Such a diversity of views caused many conflicts to develop concerning the way FLH could be permamently organized. By November 1971, the decision was made to legally incorporate FLH. As a result of this decision, those who had composed the left wing of FLH (including its original founders) dropped out.

At approximately the same time, the membership decided that some sort of drop-in centre was needed to serve the needs of the total gay community. Soon after FLH was incorporated (with a limited responsibility charter), a drop-in centre was established on St. Denis St. Committees were then formed to deal with legal affairs, public relations, consciousness raising, finances and social activities. Although the general membership of FLH was by this time quite large, few of the members worked actively with the committees, resulting in the committees producing few tangible results.

Another problem arose almost immediately from the fact that FLH had not attempted to define its goals or policies in any specific way before beginning extensive membership recruitment. By the time membership had grown to a sizeable number, it was too late to formulate goals and policies, simply because the membership was so politically and ideologically diverse. Reaching any sort of consensus proved impossible.

After the initial surge of membership—that is, after the novelty of a gay organization in Montreal wore off—membership gradually dropped off and fewer people made use of the drop-in centre. In attempting to appeal to so many viewpoints at once, the centre failed to represent any viewpoint at all in a satisfactory way. By April 1972, when the lease for the St. Denis centre ended, the membership was unable to reach agreement on establishing a new centre.

As a result, FLH was left without a gathering place, and inter-group communication was minimal. By June 1972, however, the FLH board of governors managed to find a new location for the centre at the corner of Sanguinet and St. Catherine Streets.

The raid: The new centre was opened on June 17 with a dance which ended in the early morning hours when Montreal police raided the centre and arrested forty people, charging them with being found in an establishment which was selling liquor without a permit.

And the trial: On August 16, the case came to trial with all involved pleading not guilty. The case was dropped on November 8 because of errors made in the technicalities of pressing charges. Though no one associated with FLH was successfully prosecuted, the harassment has been sufficient to frighten off many of the existing members and to discourage prospective members from joining. As a result of the raid, the FLH executive, resigned. They then found it necessary to invoke emergency powers to lower the FLH voting quorum so that a new executive could be elected by the decimated membership.

The New Executive: Election of a new executive failed to solve the many problems of FLH. Although the trial had been brought to a successful conclusion, the group was still faced with financial and membership difficulties. Even after financial matters were cleared up, the executive was forced to abandon the Ste. Catherine St. drop-in centre, since the June raid had been tremendously successful in scaring off gays who feared subsequent police action.

The Future: The FLH executive is still extant, however, and is working to reorganize. In the near future the executive plans to meet with former members and anyone else interested in a Francophone gay group in order to open discussion on the causes for FLH's rapid disintegration, and the ways to restructure the group while eliminating the original causes of disintegration. After meeting with interested persons (hopefully in small groups) concerning these matters, the executive plans to produce a manifesto concerning the goals of FLH so that prospective members would be aware of the group's ideology before joining.

THESE PEOPLE ARE ALL FAGGOTS FAGGOTS FAGGOTS FAGGOTS FA









We are women first and foremost

We live in a society dominated by the theory, if not the practice, of male homosexuality. Men are taught to please other men, to prefer the company of men, to have more respect for male strength, ego, intelligence, humour, etc., but never, never to consider the possibility of sex with a man. Sex, in male supremacist culture, is something you do *to* someone, not something you share with an equal. When a male enjoys a physical relationship with another male, he becomes less of "a man" and, presumably, more like a woman, God forbid.

Women, on the other hand, are taught to accept total and complete heterosexuality: to please men, to prefer the company of men, to have more respect for male strength, ego, intelligence, humour, etc., but never, never to consider the possibility of sex with a woman. Besides, even if she wanted to, a woman hasn't got "the necessary equipment". For when a woman enjoys a physical relationship with another woman, she abandons her "femininity" and, presumably, becomes more like a man.

Which should be good, right?

Wrong. Male is superior to female, but a woman who doesn't want to be a female obviously has something wrong with her. Like she's a lesbian.

(Cold shivers down the spines of straight feminists reading this article. Mutters of "No, no, not necessarily. I just want to be equal, that's all.")

And we all know about lesbians, don't we? *Especially* straight feminists, most of whom at one time or another have realized the absolute absurdity of being expected to love your oppressor, and have considered (briefly) loving another woman. Lesbians are manhaters, right? Lesbians are women who are trying to be like men, right? Oh, yeah, granted, there's a bit of a paradox there, but that's where it's at, right?

Horseshit.

Lesbians are women who are trying to be human beings, and, at the risk of sounding like a gay female chauvinist, which I most assuredly am, are probably the sanest people around. In a society where all but the most radical feminists recognize men as their oppressors and still suck up to them, still play house with them, still trade self-realization for security and social acceptance, nobody can tell me that being gay isn't the healthiest response a woman can have.

So what I would like to know is, why are gay women hiding in a social movement like gay liberation, which is largely male-organized, male-dominated and has among its members some of the most incredibly sexist men I have ever met?

Gay women, as a group, have absolutely nothing in common with gay men except for being gay, and that's just not enough. All gay liberation is ever going to do for gay women is to turn them into second class citizens instead of third. Women in the gay movement are in exactly the same space as they were in the peace movement, and the new left, and the civil rights movement and in every other movement right down through history—that is, helping the men, taking second place to the men, always forgetting that as gays, revolutionaries, students, workers, or whatever: *We are women first and foremost*.

Women with all the discrimination and stereotypes and oppression and exploitation that are our birthright.

First, we must organize as women. It's time for a gay women's movement to do some re-education of straight movement women. If we're feared in the movement, if we're undesirables, if we're expected to conform to fifty-year old stereotypes of gay women—it's our fault. If we join women's liberation, we do it as individuals, almost apologizing for being gay, 'cause, gee, you know, if people know that we... um... gay women are in your group, then they might think that you're gay too, and you'd lose your—what do you call it—your *credibility*, right?

A lot of horseshit! You'll just lose your nice image of really being very normal ordinary women who want to liberate men too—call it *human* liberation. Well, pardon my cynicism, but I really believe that any person, in any movement, is there because there are certain things that person wants from the world, but knows that she/he will never get them by standing up as an individual. Call it sisterhood, brotherhood, anything you want, it's the old concept of strength in numbers.

Which brings me to my proposal: that a group of political gay women get together and call a conference for movement women in Montreal to show them who we are and what we are and where we're at, and find out how we can work together as women.

The number is 843-6431.

It's not mine. I have absolutely no intention of identifying myself in this article, because it gives me great pleasure to know that the women I know in the movement are going to wonder if I wrote this, and other women are going to wonder if somebody else wrote it, and on and on down the line. If anybody asks me, I'm either going to grin broadly or protest vehemently and I hope all the others do the same.

Yeah, all you straight movement women—there's a gay feminist running around somewhere that you are going to be seeing more of.

Providing of course, that you don't look for here in the Student Union ballroom.

THESE PEOPLE ARE ALL *dykes dykes dykes dykes dykes dykes dykes d*











Notes of a radical lesbian

—martha shelley

Lesbianism is one road to freedom—freedom from oppression by men.

To see Lesbianism in this context—as a mode of living neither better nor worse than others, as one which offers its own opportunities—one must abandon the notion that deviance from the norm arises from personal illnesses.

For women, as for other groups, there are several American norms. All of them have their rewards, and their penalties. The nice girl next door, virginal until her marriage—the Miss America type—is rewarded with community respect and respectability. She loses her individuality and her freedom, to become a toothpaste smile and chastity belt. The career woman gains independence and a large margin of freedom—if she is willing to work twice as hard as a man for less pay, and if she can cope with emotional strains similar to those that beset the black intellectual surrounded by white colleagues. The starlet, call girl, or bunny, whose source of income is directly related to her image as a sex object, gains some financial independence and freedom from housework. She doesn't have to work as hard as the career woman, but she pays through psychological degradation as a sex object, and through the insecurity of knowing that her career, based on youthful good looks, is short-lived.

The Lesbian, through her ability to obtain love and sexual satisfaction from other women, is freed of dependence on men for love, sex, and money. She does not have to do menial chores for them (at least at home), nor cater to their egos, nor submit to hasty and inept sexual encounters. She is freed from fear of unwanted pregnancy and the pains of childbirth, and from the drudgery of child raising.

On the other hand, she pays three penalties. The rewards of child raising are denied her. This is a great loss for some women, but not for others. Few women abandon their children, as compared with the multitudes of men who abandon both wives and children. Few men take much interest in the process of child raising. One suspects that it might not be much fun for the average person, and so the men leave it to the women.

The Lesbian still must compete with men in the job market, facing the same job and salary discrimination as her straight sister. Finally, she faces the most severe contempt and ridicule that society can heap on a woman.

When a woman showed up at a feminist meeting and announced that she was a Lesbian, many women avoided her. Others told her to keep her mouth shut, for fear that she would endanger the cause. They felt that men could be persuaded to accept some measure of equality for women—as long as these women would parade their devotion to heterosexuality and motherhood.

A woman who is totally independent of men—who obtains love, sex, and self-esteem from other women—is a terrible threat to male supremacy. She doesn't need them, and therefore they have less power over her.

Lesbians, because they are not afraid of being abandoned by men, are less reluctant to express hostitity toward the male class—the oppressors of women. Hostility toward your oppressor is healthy, but the guardians of modern morality, the psychiatrists, have interpreted this hostility as an illness, and they say this illness causes and is Lesbianism.

If hostility to men causes Lesbianism, then it seems to me that in a male-dominated society, Lesbianism is a sign of mental health.

The psychiatrists have also forgotten that Lesbianism involves love between women. Isn't love between equals healthier than sucking up to an oppressor?

Freud founded the myth of penis envy, and men have asked me "But what can two women do together?" As though a penis were the *sine qua non* of sexual pleasure! Man, we can do without it, and keep it going longer, too!

Men fear Lesbians because they are less dependent, and because their hostility is less controlled.

Straight women fear Lesbians because of the Lesbian inside them, because we represent an alternative. They fear us for the same reason that uptight middle-class people fear hip people. They are angry at us because we have a way out that they are afraid to take.

And what happens to the Lesbian under all this pressure? Many of my sisters, confused by the barrage of anti-gay propaganda, have spent years begging to be allowed to live. They have come begging because they believed they were psychic cripples, and that other people were healthy and had the moral right to judge them. Many have lived in silence, burying themselves in their careers, like name-changing Jews or blacks who passed for white. Many have retreated into an apolitical domesticity, concerning themselves only with the attempt to maintain a love relationship in a society which attempts to destroy love and replace it with consumer goods, and which attempts to completely destroy any form of love outside the monogamous marriage.

Because *Lesbian* has become such a vile epithet, we have been afraid to fight openly. We can lose our jobs; we have fewer civil rights than any other minority group. Because we have few family ties and no children, for the most part, we have been active in many causes, but always in secret because our name contaminates any cause that we work for.

To the radical Lesbian, I say that we can no longer afford to fight for everyone else's cause while ignoring our own. Ours is a life-style born out of a sick society; so is everyone else's. Our kind of love is as valid as anyone else's. The revolution must be fought for us, too, not only for blacks, Indians, welfare mothers, grape pickers, SDS people, Puerto Ricans, or mine workers. We must have a revolution for *human rights*. If we are in a bag, it's as good as anyone else's bag.

Maybe after the revolution, people will be able to love each other regardless of skin color, ethnic origin, occupation, or type of genitals. But if that's going to happen, it will only happen because we make it happen—starting right now.

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boys in the back

or how a movie made me come out

—will aitken

I suppose you could say it was a movie that brought me out.

What movie? *The Boys in the Band*, of course. I was so moved by the ultimate pathetic, but nevertheless uplifting, truths of that fine and daring film that I burst out of my closet shouting joyous affirmations of my gayness. Well, not quite.

I mean, I did see *The Boys in the Band* and then—six months later—I did come out and there was a causality at work there somewhere, but...

...it was the summer of 1970 and I was living in St. Louis. I remember the pre-opening radio ads distinctly: "*The Boys in the Band* is not a musical!"—a caveat that the first two or three times heard got knowing smiles from me and from the determinedly straight group of people I was living with at the time. We all knew what *The Boys in the Band* was about; two years before, Mart Crowley's play had been hailed as the frankest treatment of homosexuality to hit Broadway. And now it was a movie, a serious movie about homosexuals.

God knows why we decided to go to the premiere, but we did, after careful (and tacit) considerations of the logistics of such a venture: "Hey, why don't we all go together?" ("since not all of us have dates and I'm not going to be caught dead going with another guy").

Careful planning paid off, for when we—three guys and two girls—arrived at the theatre, we found our kind of crowd. Not a queer in the place from the looks of things. Everyone with a date or at least in a carefully mixed group. Lots of wrist-flexing and basso voices. Serious conversations echoing across the lobby: "My sister saw it in Boston and said she really gained insight into the problems of The Homosexual"... "No, none of the actors are really homosexual—I saw Cliff Gorman on Johnny Carson the other night, and he's married"... "My lit prof says some of Shakespeare's sonnets were written for a boy."

Very little traffic at the concession stand. This was not a popcorn crowd. We all headed for our seats and settled in, determined to keep an open mind concerning what we were about to see, prepared at all costs to be at least compassionate. Then, just before the houselights went down, *they* entered. We heard them first, an unsettling cacaphony of falsetto shrieks and giggles: "Hurry up, girls, it's about to start"... "Herbie, I wanted Juicy FRUIT, not Doublemint." A hundred heads swivelled to take in the spectacle just beginning at the rear of the theatre. A gaggle of gays—probably no more than 15 or so, but from our perspective there seemed to be literally scores of them—pranced, skipped and otherwise just plain camped their way into the last few rows of seats. They were wearing outlandish clothes and sparkling dimestore jewelry and some of them had flowers behind their ears and some of them were even—gasp!—holding hands.

Well, it was a bit much wasn't it? But then we were a very tolerant audience, weren't we? We could take a bit of fun, couldn't we? So we smiled benign smiles and even laughed—discreetly—when one of *them* squealed something particularly outrageous.

This admirable atmosphere of tolerance prevailed even after the movie began, for the boys in the back provided an amusing counterpoint to the campy antics of the boys in *The Boys in the Band*. In fact, the quips from the boys in the back generally proved to be much funnier and certainly much fresher than the stagey zingers ("There's one thing to be said for masturbation—at least you don't have to look your best") the playwright saw fit to embalm in his subsequent screenplay.

But even an understanding and compassionate audience has its tolerance threshhold, and when the movie took its serious turn and the boys in the back didn't, people started getting angry. Hostile looks and loud "shhhs!" were aimed toward the back rows. But to no avail. At the very height of the drama, when the audience was really getting into the main character as he moaned, "I'm tired of livin' and scared of dyin'", one of the boys in the back trilled out "Ole Man Ribahhhh!"

That did it. Angry mutterings about "goddam fags" could be heard on all sides. People were pissed. Here they were giving their all to a movie about homosexuals and therefore giving their all to understanding homosexuals, to accepting the fact that homosexuals are just like—well, almost—other people, and then there are these queers in the back spoiling everything.

It was an angry audience that left the theatre that night. I was angry too—furious, in fact. But my anger had little to do with the boys in the back. I wasn't quite sure what they were trying to accomplish, but I was certain that whatever it was—guerrilla camp, perhaps?—was easily more valid than anything I'd just witnessed on the screen.

For *The Boys in the Band* struck me as an almost totally dishonest film, crammed full of bogus concern and ersatz sentiment, soap opera masking as relevant drama. Mart Crowley brought to his screenplay all the elements that were wrong in the play. The creaky and mechanical, albeit time-honored, structure ("The Party... "The Confrontation Game"... "The Truth Revealed"—the plot of *Who's Afraid of Viriginia Woolf?* without the genius of Albee) made the transition intact. Also retained was the rampant stereotypy that prompted one critic to refer to the characters as a new twist on the 1940's movie bomber crew—the nellie faggot, the Queen of Spades, the neurotic Jew, etc. And the resultant false premise—that one can reveal the true nature of a person by stripping away his defences, his appearances—was played for all it was worth. This premise may not be inherently false from a psychological point of view, but from a dramatic one—well, if one takes away a stereotype's appearances, all his identifying tics and foibles, one is left with nothing.

Which is exactly what happens in *The Boys in the Band*. The dice are loaded from the start, and at the end of the film we are served up with miserable creatures whose suffering seem bathetic only because they weren't well enough written characters at the start to bear up under any sort of dramatic strain at the end.

The boys in the back, then, were right: they had no choice but to attempt to disrupt the film in any way they could. *The Boys in the Band* was exploitative in the worst sense of the word, first because it was an attempt to extract a second success from a sure, if shoddy, thing, and second because it patronized both homosexuals (as fit subjects for a new sort of freak show cum soap opera) and audiences (as complacent consumers of the aforementioned). The consumers I left the theatre with that summer night were by no means complacent. They may have hated the boys in the back, but they at least weren't allowed to love *The Boys in the Band*.

• • • •

I've intentionally avoided a wide-ranging discussion of gay-content movies simply because I've had such limited access to them. Offhand, I can cite a few good examples, mostly experimental or semi-experimental (Jack Smith's witty and beautifully erotic *Flaming Creatures*, some of the Warhol-Morissey productions, Mark Lester's ingenuous presentation of the Cockettes of San Francisco in *Tricia's Wedding*, Shirley Clarke's *Portrait of Jason*).

But there are so many other films available, covering the whole spectrum of gay experience a comprehensive festival of gay films would not be too difficult to put together. And it would sure beat the hell out of writing (or reading) about them.

If enough people are interested, maybe we could put together McGill's first Gay Film Festival for sometime next term. If you'd like to help out, or if there's a film you'd especially like to see included in the festival, give me a call at 844-9246.

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opposition to these various species of reductionism, it can only be suggested that oppression has many facets and causes. Diverse theoretical structures illuminate differing aspects of oppression. It depends on our interests and purposes what theoretical structure we utilize to come to grips with oppression, and no one structure can justifiably be regarded as the most fundamental.

It should be stressed that the reductionist position being discussed has been referred to as a possible or hypothetical Marxist position to make it clear that not all Marxist theoreticians could readily be classified as reductionist. An illustration of a non-reductionist Marxist stance could be provided in the writings of Marcuse. In addition, it is evident that Marxism does not provide the only theoretical basis upon which a revolutionary gay position could be based. Anarchism provides one possible alternative.

Basis for Common Action

It would seem possible that those who view gay liberation as a civil rights movement and those who see it as revolutionary could be able to work together in the same movement. While the goals and tactics of the latter may extend beyond those of the former, they can both unite in attacks on specific institutions of sexism. In principle, a broad front of common action should be possible. If the revolutionary perspective is correct, then the attempt to combat sexism should increasingly involve the necessity to attack other institutions of capitalist society. To what extent the present society can endure an assault against sexism without being radically transformed will be determined by history, but it remains necessary to make the assault.

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Liberation Front. Dick Rulens seceding from the GLF formed the Gay Activists Alliance. Following upon this split many of the remaining GLF members merged with Roedy Green's newly founded Gay Alliance Toward Equality (GATE) leaving the movement divided into two opposing factions. The political orientations of the two groups were not immediately apparent: Their identities initially appeared to relate more to the personality differences of their leadership. This split reflects one of the strengths and, concomitantly, one of the weaknesses of gay organizations in their early stages of development. Because they are dependent upon core individuals instrumental in their inception they are at once easily formed and dominated by those who are sufficiently willing to work for the liberation group.

The superficial distinctions between GATE and GAA began, however, to assume more concrete forms with the boycott of the Castle Hotel instigated by Green. Once a gay tavern, the management decided to refurbish the hotel and to exclude its former gay patrons. Resenting the arbitrary decision, particularly in light of the hotel's exploitative history, GATE picketted the premises demanding the end to the hotel's new discriminatory practices.

GAA's Rulens, however, opposed GATE's action, even going so far as to cross the picket line set up by the rival organization. This, in addition to Maurice Flood's ascendency to GATE's leadership, iniated the move away from personality oriented politics toward a concern for more concrete social and political issues.

This development culminated during the B.C. provincial and recent federal elections. Rulens in support of Bennett's Socreds, announced that Social Credit had assumed a pro-gay stand, but a few days later party members repudiated this claim urging the castration of gays: such a move would prevent us from reproducing our own kind! With GAA's credibility severely damaged, GATE confronted candidates for both provincial and federal office and gained fairly consistent support for gay rights from the NDP. This, in addition to relatively sympathetic coverage by the Vancouver press, has made GATE into a viable, effective and militant political group: the issues of personality have been subjugated to more important and concrete social and political problems.

One major aspect of the gay liberation dynamic is the ongoing process of evolution and redefinition which enable the movement to grow and reflect the realities of the liberating process.

Within our movement standing up and affirming your gayness is referred to as "coming out". One might say that this itself is an essential experience of the liberating process. Life is an ongoing process of coming out—of opening the doors of perception and coming closer to realizing our unique selves, expressing an affirmation of life through liberated physical and intellectual communications. Social revolution will succeed only when all of us come out.

THESE PEOPLE ARE ALL fairies fairies fairies fairies fairies fairies fairies fairies fairies fairies f

Some initial steps towards gay liberation

Gay people are victims.

We are the victims of discrimination by every institution in this society. Homosexuals are prevented legally from being hired by governments, the largest employers in the country. Homosexuals have absolutely no legal recourse against being fired for asserting our identity. Tax laws penalize us for refusing to embrace the exploitative institution of marriage. The Criminal Code of Canada provides fines and jail terms for gays who publicy display affection for each other.

We are the victims of businessmen who promote a ghetto mentality among us, convincing us that their establishments provide the only alternative to a furtive, lonely existence. They have created a marketplace where the goods for sale are ourselves and our *selves*.

But most important, we are the victims of our own identities. We submit to social conditioning which tells us that because we are gay we must conform to self-destructive, rigid stereotypes. We abdicate our humanity for an illusory security.

Only by breaking out of our isolation and working with each other can we gain control over our own lives and stop the process of victimization.

Some gays have begun organizing to fight discriminatory practices and laws, to establish alternative institutions which meet their real needs, and to develop their individuality while collectively rejecting stereotypes.

A step in this direction was taken by members of the Montreal gay community when regular meetings began in the Redpath Drop-in Center this September. One result has been the establishment of GAY, a university group chartered by the McGill Students' Society. Simultaneously, the non-university members agreed upon an interim executive to work towards setting up a drop-in centre to serve the community. McGill's GAY group secured initial funding for the center from the Students' Society.

A gay telephone service (also funded initially by McGill) to handle distress and information calls is scheduled to begin operating in December.

As soon as a satisfactory location can be found, we hope to undertake consciousness raising in earnest. At the present time, there are two groups involved in consciousness-raising work to prepare them to run the gay telephone service. By beginning to understand the social processes which have led us to victimize ourselves, by understanding the effects that process had on us, we can begin to look for causes, the causes of our oppression, and begin to identify the oppressors.

This process can provide gays with the insight into the forces which operate on all victims of society, be they gay, women, Indians or poor. And we can begin to fight back.

The first steps are being taken now at the gay community meetings being held at McGill. All gay people should involve themselves in the organization; through collective discussion and organization, we can re-exert control over our own lives.

The Review

Editor Nigel Gibson
Editorial Staff Phyllis Platt
Vivien Perelman
Lenny Wexler

front cover photo 'lena' by david duchow

editorial collective for this issue:
f. brayton, m. galan, b. peck, w. aitken, k. kelley.

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Happy Birthday to Linda, Marty, Dave, Sherrill and me. Moss, you can go see your dirty movies legally now. Bob.

Long haired gilr peasant blouse, who enjoyed intermission stretch at R. D. Laing (hear entrance corner). Desire conversation 733-4333 after 8.

MISCELLANEOUS

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THE GREAT PECARVE returns; to put on a live show complete with mass hypnosis. Saturday, Nov. 25 at 8:00 PM in L132. For info Call: 392-3094.

The Graduates' Children's Film Program presents PINOCCHIO, Saturday, November 25, 11:00 and 2:30, Leacock 132. 50c. Bring your parents. 392-8934.

McGill Film Society Suspense Series presents CRY TERROR directed by A.L. Stone with James Mason and Rod Steiger. Plus Chapter IV of PERILS OF PAULINE. Leacock 132 7:00 & 9:30, 50c, 392-8934. No extra charge for security blankets.

PUB NITE PHASE II Friday, November 24, 8:00 PM. R.V.C. "old cafeteria" 641 Sherbrooke (corner of Sherbrooke and University) Band: WEIGHT 3 beers/$1.00.

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LOST

Female dog, beige with black face. Decarie-Van Horne, Wed. Nov. 15th. Reward! Please call 737-9963, 737-7473.

Zippered black binder on lower campus field Thursday Nov. 16. Notes contained are important. If found please call Bob 739-7893. Thanks.

Black suede gloves and navy blue hat in Leacock 132, Wednesday, Nov. 22. Please call Michele 486-0420. Small reward.

WALLET: Would whoever found my wallet, please send me my I.D. cards, licences and passes. Keep the rest. Anne Kotiuga.

Lost: Blue and green beret, Saturday night, R.D. Laing talk. Sentimental value. Call Jamie, 849-7881.

Lost: A key ring with about 15 keys in the Union Tuesday evening. Extremely important to owner. Call 845-8061, Rosemary.

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Who controls the media?



by Michel Celemenski

Freedom of the press, like free enterprise, may have existed in the past, but in corporate society it has become simply another convenient myth.

For example, just before the First World War there were 138 daily newspapers in Canada—and there were 138 publishers. In 1953 Canada had only 89 newspapers and 57 publishers. By 1966 there were 110 newspapers and 63 publishers. Today, 14 publishing groups produce more than two-thirds of the country's 116 dailies.

In terms of circulation, the 77 dailies controlled by these 14 groups account for 3,614,354 copies or 77 percent of total Canadian daily output. Three groups—Southam, Thomson, and F.P.—control 45 percent of total circulation.

This tendency towards concentration can be explained in terms of simple economics. The bigger a newspaper's circulation, the lower its per unit costs. For example, average annual cost per 1000 columns in 1968 for a newspaper with 10,000 circulation was about $1.60, whereas the comparable cost for a newspaper with 250,000 circulation was about 45c.

This means that a smaller newspaper must raise 3 1/2 times as much revenue as the larger one. Hence advertising rates will be 3 1/2 times as high as well.

Another significant fact is that only 10 cities in Canada have more than one daily newspaper. Of these, Vancouver's two dailies are published by one corporation owned by two newspaper groups. Moncton and Sherbrooke have two dailies but they are published in different languages. In essence, only seven cities have "competing" newspapers. In English Montreal this competitiveness can, of course, be symbolized by the intense debates going on between the *Star* and the *Gazette*.

If one looks at ownership patterns of the *Star* and the *Gazette* we see that they are part of large financial concerns whose interests go far beyond publishing.

The *Montreal Star* is owned by the McConnell family, whose financial empire was built up by J. W. McConnell and left to his children. The family also owns the Montreal Standard Publishing Company (MSPC) which owns *Weekend* and has a 24.7 percent interest in *Perspectives* and *Perspectives-Dimanche*.

Weekend is a supplement in 39 daily newspapers with a combined circulation of 1,805,839. *Perspectives* is a French-language supplement published in 6 Quebec dailies with a circulation of 828,430. *Perspectives-Dimanche* is distributed as part of *Le Dimanche-Matin*, a weekly with 290,000 circulation owned by the Desmarais-Parisien-Francoeur group, owners of Power Corporation and *La Presse* (discussed below in detail).

As printer of *Weekend*, MSPC competes with *Canadian Homes* and *The Canadian Magazine*, owned by Southstar Publishers Limited (controlled 50 percent by the Toronto *Star* and 50 percent by Southam News, the latter also owning the *Gazette*.

In late 1969, Southstar announced that their two supplement magazines would be published by MSPC. Also, Southstar and MSPC have established MagnaMedia Ltd. as their joint advertising sales agency and market researching company.

The *Star*'s McConnell family owns 88 percent of the shares of Commercial Trust Company which is held by the Montreal Trust Company with an agreement granting voting rights to J. S. McConnell and Mrs. P. M. Laing during their lifetimes.

The Commercial Trust Company, in turn, owns *The Montreal Star* (1968) Ltd. and MSPC as well as Canada Wide Feature Service Ltd. and Infocor Ltd. as a trustee for Starlaw Investment Ltd.

Starlaw is owned by SLSR Holdings Ltd., (previously known as St. Lawrence Sugar Refineries Ltd.) a different corporate entity than that which publishes the *Star*.

As the Davies Commission sums up, "The circle is completed with ownership in trust by the Commercial Trust Company of virtually all of the outstanding shares of the companies that control Starlaw Investments—SLSR Holdings Ltd. and *Montreal Star* Holdings Ltd. The Commercial Trust Company is the registered owner of the shares of these two companies as the sole trustee on behalf of the descendents of the late Mr. McConnell."

The Gazette is owned by Southam Press Limited, a public corporation, with no single interest greater than 3.6 percent, but effectively controlled by a large number of shareholders related to the Southam family by birth and marriage. In 1969, the company's revenue was $104.7 million and its profits $8.07 million.

Apart from *The Gazette*, the company controls eleven daily newspapers with a combined circulation of 849,364, or 18 percent of total Canadian circulation. In addition, it holds minority interest in three other dailies, and a 50 percent share in Pacific Press Limited, which publishes the F.P. owned *Vancouver Sun* and *Vancouver Province*, part of the Southam group.

Southam wholly owns *The Financial Times of Canada*, a national weekly business paper. In this field, Southam produces 35 trade magazines and 15 industrial annuals through its wholly owned subsidiary, Southam Business Publications Limited.

In 1970, Southam also purchased National Business Publications of Gardenvale, Quebec, thereby gaining control of 14 other trade and professional journals.

Through a number of subsidiaries and holding companies, Southam has invested in printing operations, radio stations, television stations, cable television systems, television programming, commercial production, record companies and trade shows.

The third English language daily of Quebec is the *Quebec City Chronicle Telegraph*, owned by none other than Lord Thomson of Fleet. The Thomson group's interests in North America are vast with revenues of $92,861,000 in 1968 and a net profit of $9,107,290. This represents a 57 percent increase in profits over 1967 and a total gain of revenues amounting to more than $42 million.

The company owns 30 dailies in Canada representing a circulation of 400,615 or 8.5 percent of the Canadian total. The company also owns 11 weeklies in Canada and 42 daily and weekly papers in the U.S. and publishing interests throughout the world. For example, in England Thomson publishes the *Sunday Times* and the *Times of London*.

The three chains—Thomson, McConnell, and Southam—own 97.5 percent of the daily circulation of English-language newspapers in Quebec through the *Chronicle-Telegraph*, the *Star*, and the *Gazette*. This is not considered monopoly, of course, since ownership is in the hands of three separate corporate interests.

The general manager of the *Fredericton Gleaner*, Mr. Sparing, in a court appearance last Monday, denied ever having been given a directive by the management.

As mentioned above, Southam owns 50 percent of Southstar Publishers Limited and is linked to the McConnell family through the Montreal Standard Publishing Company (MSPC) and MagnaMedia.

Assuming Mr. Sparing was not told to say this in court, it is still unrealistic to contemplate that Mr. Irving or the Irving empire has no influence over the editor. How can an editor who belongs to one of Mr. Irving's papers effectively criticize the corporation which pays him and owns most of the rest of the province?

The French-language press in Montreal is as equally controlled by large corporate chains as its English counterpart, with one exception—*Le Devoir*. *Le Devoir* is the exception which proves the rule. Its independent editorial policy (it was the only paper which came out unequivocally against the War Measures Act) testifies

continued on page 6

mcgill daily

VOL. 62, NO. 48 FRIDAY, NOV. 24, 1972 THREE CENTS



FATHER MALONE: Getting it all together?

Loyola approves merger

MONTREAL (CUP)—After weeks of delay, the Loyola College Board of Trustees has finally approved the terms for a merger with Sir George Williams University.

Announcing the approval to the College Senate November 21, Loyola President Father Patrick Malone said "This does not ensure the future of Loyola. The ball is in your court, the students and the faculty, and it will be dependent on your creativity and imagination to make sure Loyola continues to exist."

The final terms were amended somewhat to appease elements of the Loyola Science Faculty which had bitterly opposed the proposed elimination of an Honours Science program on the Loyola Campus. Malone said to compromise, worked out by the universities' Joint Negotiation Committee "...allows science people to work out their own destiny'.

He said that, despite minor objections, "there was no attack on the substance of the document, and it isn't the final statement of the university."

The plan proposes two joint faculties—Engineering, and Commerce and Administration—and Faculties of Arts and Science at both Sir George and Loyola.

Although the merger was slated to begin in September 1973, the two campuses will continue to function as separate institutions through 1973-74, not because there are any problems with the new university, Malone claimed, but because the two universities have already made preparations for that year.

Malone envisaged very few immediate changes but many joint operations and activities by 1974-75.

Some Loyola spokesmen wanted parity representation with Sir George on the new Joint Senate, "but the trustees didn't even entertain that motion", Malone said. Sir George representatives will constitute 65% of the new Senate and Loyola 35%. This composition is to be reviewed in five years.

Malone said the provincial government will probably approve the merger terms without any problems. An Education Department representative participated in negotiations at various points.

With the major stumbling block to the merger cleared, much work remains. The negotiating committees must determine the powers of the structural levels within the new university, choose a new name for the merged institution, and arrange for various non-academic administrative structures.

by susan wheeler

Noumoff on China

Peking, China, 1958. Nine years have lapsed since the success of the revolution that established the Peoples' Republic of China. Ten urban housewives decide to build a "courtyard factory." They have no skills, no equipment, only 2 rooms and a simple lathe. Their motto: 'If there is no equipment, we must build it. If there are no rooms, we must construct them. If there is no knowledge, we must learn."

By 1971, the number of women workers had grown to 100 and they were busily producing precision levels and silicon single crystal cutting devices.

HUMBUG

The ghost of Christmas Issue yet to come haunts the Daily office. Seance at 4:00 today for all staffers.

In Sian, a group of young students were assigned to work in a yet-to-be-completed light bulb factory. The students entered the factory and began production with primitive equipment. With the projected completion date of the factory still 2 years away, they were producing at 50% capacity. In addition, they were instructing local peasants in the production of light bulbs so that the peasants later became self-sufficient with regard to that commodity.

In another instance, a group of urban intellectuals and engineers went into the rural areas to construct a commune that would help protect three neighbouring villages from soil erosion and flooding. Faced with the problem of feeding themselves, these urban-dwellers were forced to rely on the local peasants for instruction. In this relationship of dependence, these functionaries and engineers came to understand how incorrect their own attitudes had been with regard to the "illiterate" peasants. They were forced to examine themselves and their own attitudes, and came to understand what was meant by "serving the people."

These three stories were used by Prof. Samuel Noumoff to illustrate the various problems facing the Chinese Revolution and the solutions to them that constituted the Cultural Revolution. Noumoff was speaking last night at a Political Science Staff Seminar to a group of about 30 students and staff on the subject of "China: A preliminary Assessment."

The two basic points Noumoff raised were the relationship of the base to the superstructure, and the continuity of social change in the Peoples' Republic after 28 years of revolutionary activity and 17 years of socialist construction. He further elaborated on the various problems that faced China.

Technological development in

continued on page 6



SAM NOUMOFF

daily photo by chris busby

LEAN AND HUNGRY/BY GEORGE KOPP



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Faculty of Music:
Cancellation: Pierre Jasmin concert will not take place due to illness.

Faculty of Music:
Lunch Concert. Beethoven trio, opus 1 no. 3 in C minor: Carl Urquhart, piano; Beverly Schnoeder, violin; Tom Mirhady, cello. Auditorium, 555 Sherbrooke St. West. Free. 12:30 pm.

S.C.M. Yellow Door Coffeehouse:
Music this weekend: John Lutz, 8-12 pm,, today and tomorrow; Sunday—FolkMass at 11:30 am; Hoot at 8:00 pm. Lunch is served on weekends too (even Sunday). P.S. Bruce Murdoch will be giving a concert (with Kevin Head) in the Selby Cafeteria at Dawson College, on Saturday night, at 8:30. That's all.

Dept. of English Drama:
Presents *A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM* by Shakespeare. Moyse Hall. 8:00 pm. Admission $2.50. Tickets available at Union Box Office, 392-8926 or at the door. Two performances Sat. Nov. 25. Matinee at 2:00 ($1.50) and evening at 8:00 ($2.50).

Free Telegrams:
Via amateur radio. Info at Union box office or rm. 401 or 392-8942.

Stamp Club:
Meeting 12-1:30 pm. Union 411. All are welcome.

Pre-Med Society:
Presents Dr. J. H. Darragh, Associate Dean (Admissions) McGill Medical School on "Medical Admissions at McGill". Francis Seminar Room, 4th floor, McIntyre Medical Bldg. (enter via Medical Library, 3rd floor.)

Christian Fellowship:
Daily Prayer meeting 8:30 am. Union 307.

Murder at McGill:
One week left in Round 1. Get'em while they last.

Community McGill:
A young boy, 7, who is living with his elderly grandparents, needs a big brother to take him out to do interesting things at his speed. A friendship based on spending one afternoon a week with him and making a few phone calls in between visits might make quite a difference to this child. More information Union 414, 392-8980 from 11-4 pm.

Pub Nite Phase II:
Presented by E.U.S. and R.V.C. "old cafeteria", 641 Sherbrooke St. W. (corner of Sherbrooke and University). Friday, November 24 at 8:00 pm. Band: Weight and 3 beers/$1.00.

MOC:
Square Dance Tonight at 8 pm. in the Union Ballroom. Come kick up your heels! Members 25c, nonmembers 50c.

MSSA:
'Malaysian and Singapore in Focus' broadcasting at 5-7 pm. Come tune in with us at the ISA lounge. Bring friends and moral support. Malaysian snacks will be served.

Ukrainian Club:
Urgent meeting of all McGill Ukrainian Students—fate of club and elections on the agenda. Today in Union 307, 1:00-3:00 pm.

Women's Inter-Collegiate Ice Hockey:
Today the McGill girls meet the team from York U. at the arena, 5:00 pm. Drop by to cheer the girls on.

Med School Applicants:
Members of the first year medical class will be available to discuss medical school applications and to provide information to anyone interested in the McGill Faculty of Medicine. Hours will be Monday 1:00-2:00 pm and Friday 12:00-1:00 pm at the Medical Students Society office, 6th floor. McIntyre Medical Sciences Building. If you can't make it at these times, call the Faculty of Medicine general office.

Wine and Cheese Party:
6:30 pm in the Union Coffee Lounge. $1.00 admission includes 1 wine, cheese and band. 3 wines/$1.00. Tickets at the Box Office and door. Sponsored by Nursing Undergrads (for scholarship fund). Open to everyone!

Film Society:
Suspense series presents "Cry Terror" (US 1958) Director A. L. Stone. Starring James Mason and Rod Steiger. Admission 50c in Leacock 132 at 7:00 pm and 9:30 pm.

STOP:
Organizing meeting for STOP, 9:45 am, at Law Faculty. Public meeting to discuss Bill 34 on environment. Dr. Victor Goldbloom, Quebec Minister of Environment will answer questions.

Media McGill:
"Repulsion" starring Catherine Deneuve and directed by Roman Polanski. At 7:00 pm and 9:30 pm in FDA Auditorium (PSCA).

English Department Free Poetry Film Series:
2 films; Richard Wilbur and Robert Lawell then Allen Ginsberg and Lawrence Ferlingetti. Leacock 112 at 2 pm.

Caribbean Students:
Have you forgotten? The gym is where it's at. Come prepared to play basketball, volleyball, ping pong and badminton. Don't forget your swim suits, to cool it all off in the pool. See you at 2 pm.

MSSA (Sat., Nov. 25):
Presents Prof. Noumoff, Political Science Dept., on 'South-East Asia in the Post-Indo-China War Period', at 4 pm at 455 Sherbrooke St. W., #202.

Radio McGill (Sat., Nov. 25):
"Streetnoise" on CFQR at 92.5 FM from 12 midnight to 3 am.

what's what

PERSIAN LESSONS

Call Javade Es'haghi at 844-0717 and leave message. You can get a copy of his new book Cours de Langue Persane en Français (phonétique, textes comparés et conjugaison) for $10 by writing Javade Es'haghi, BP 1253, Station B, Montreal 110.

SAIDYE BRONFMAN CENTRE

Another in the Sunday Series of Panel Discussions will be presented on November 26, at 2:00 pm. The topic is entitled, "Terror and Violence: Their Moral and Political Implications". The panel will consists of Dr. Vivan Rakoff, Dept. of Psychiatry, University of Toronto; Professor William Westley, Dept. of Sociology, McGill University; Robert Lemieux, Advocate. The moderator: Mr. Danny Paltiel. The Saidye Bronfman Centre is located at 5170 Cote St. Catherine Road. For further information call 739-2301.

WOMEN'S INFORMATION EXCHANGE

Does your women's group know what other groups are doing?

Consciousness-raising groups —where are you? What are you involved in?

Women—are you interested in the Women's Movement? We must get together! Come to the Women's Information Exchange on Saturday, November 25, from 1-4 pm at the University Settlement, 3553 St. Urbain St. For more information call Jean at 849-2738 or Feminist Communication Collective at 284-3132.

by huntley haverstock

Occupied!

MONTREAL (GETA)—Over 2,000 militant students have occupied the McLennan and Redpath Libraries at McGill.

It appears that the Library staff, the Administration, and the President of the Students' Society were caught off guard by the move.

At a joint press conference held late last night it was announced that the normally serene halls of the library were crowded with approximately 2,000 students. The Chief Librarian, Ms. Decimal Dewey said," . . .we had no warning at all that the occupation was to take place. In fact, the library has been, on the whole, quieter than most years and definitely more conducive to study. This year we have even received notes in the suggestion box thanking us for our successful campaign to reduce the noise level."

Students' Society President E. Leckme at the same press conference commented that the mood on campus this year had seemed rather blase and that there had been "absolutely no indications that this type of occupation or similar action was to take place."

A student who was originally one of the occupiers described the scene: "There were about 2,000 very agitated students in the libraries. They grabbed books off the shelves and ran to and from their desks. They seemed to be repeating slogans under their breath but it was extremely difficult to comprehend what they were saying. The more militant students have organized a co-operative coffee service whereby breaks for groups have been abolished and instead the coffee is brought to the students by the members of the collective on a rotating basis. Things seemed to be running very smoothly."

One of the leaders of the occupation said in a phone interview, "We feel that we have taken an important step but we are determined not to leave until we are sure we can get straight A's."



LIBRARY SECURITY was tightened last night in the wake of an unprecedented student occupation of the McLennan and Redpath Libraries. The administration is not expected to give in to student demands.

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mcgill daily

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Gordon Patterson

Editorial

The politics of reporting

It has often been said that campus newspapers enjoy both a captive readership and a guaranteed income, thus allowing the editors to feel free from the restraints of law and good taste which might limit the editorial freewheeling of those papers forced to compete for readers. These newspapers, the argument continues, might quickly discover a latent sense of responsibility if forced to compete in the market.

But the article being printed in today's *Daily* shows that for the rich newspaper owners there is no competition in the market. The process of consolidation has created chains and media empires and thus has effectively eliminated the small, independent daily newspapers.

The situation is very similar in both Canada and in the United States. "At the present rate of expansion," says Thomas J. McIntyre of the United States Senate, "all of the daily newspapers—I said *all* of them—will be owned by chains in less than twenty years."

There should be no doubt about the fact that there are vested interests be be served in the profitable publishing industry, and that the guiding factor in the coverage of news and portrayal of events is the attempt to sustain the prosperity of their enterprises. This also means that they are committed to defend and preserve an economic structure which ensures a continuous flow of profit in their direction.

Nicholas Johnson, a member of the Federal Communications Commission in an article written in the *Atlantic Monthly* (June 1968) made the following significant observation: "Economic self-interest does influence the content of the media, and as the media tend to fall into the control of corporate conglomerates, the areas of information and opinion affecting those economic interests become dangerously wide-ranging."

As for the campus newspapers, in those universities where the student press is an extension of the journalism school, one finds the most conservative publications. Reporters know that their university writing is mainly an apprenticeship stage on the road to the media establishment. They therefore suit their style to what is expected of them.

Many campus newspapers, however, are "progressive" and do not hesitate in pointing out contradictions in society. The Special Senate Committee on Mass Media talked about such papers in this manner: "This is the Soviet view of journalism—that all observed experience must be interpreted in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory . . . If it violates our prevailing canons of 'objectivity' . . . then there is something wrong with our journalistic assumptions."

As shown earlier, the general public receive most of their information about social reality from huge corporate newspapers. Since information is presented in a piecemeal manner, it is understandable that events are perceived in isolation from each other. This refusal to see events in their organic relationships is typical of those whose interests it is to defend the status quo. For a deeper analysis leads to the questioning of the basic structure of society itself.

Because student newspapers are not subjected to the same economic pressures as the bourgeois press, they are in a position to assess facts in a more disinterested manner and to show links between events.

The *Daily* this year has rejected the notion of uncommitted objectivity. In addition to covering routine campus events, the *Daily* has tried to initiate serious debate on issues at McGill and in society at large. The controversies sparked on certain topics, as reflected in *Letters* and in *From our Readers* columns, is a measure of the success achieved in this endeavour.

We urge our readers to continue their necessary contribution in these debates on the issues and contradictions in this society.

Nesar Ahmad

Michel Celemenski

letters

Banana split

The Palestinian State

New structures for the ISA

Yes, we have lotsa Bananas

Sir,

The showing of the movie *Bananas* by the MFS was repulsive. The Movie was a blatant example of sexism, racism, anti-semitism, and ridicule of small revolutionary governments. A petition should be drawn condemning the members of the MFS for sponsoring such a despicable movie. The showing of this film was in bad taste, and the best way to deal with something like this is to speak up. The issue should not degenerate into a personal vendetta against McGill Film Society staffers. I believe they should be removed, not as a personal vendetta, but to show that such behavior will not be tolerated.

Richard Gomberg

PS: L132 was packed.

ISA

Sir,

In the past, there was very little co-operation between the national clubs, and the ISA as we know it today did not exist. The ISA was not recognized as the organization representing foreign students. Instead it became identified with the small group of people who were on the ISA executive.

This year, the ISA has come to be recognized as an overall organization representing all the national clubs and foreign students on campus. All national clubs send a representative (usually the president) to the ISA Council which meets once a month and makes all major decisions affecting foreign students. The day to day administration is left to the ISA Co-ordinating Committee.

Many people believe this new structure of the ISA is a more suitable structure than the old one. The national clubs while retaining their autonomy have found it to their advantage to work together and the ISA has been able to more effectively look after the interest of foreign students.

In order to make sure that this new structure will be maintained in the future a new constitution for the ISA embodying this principle has been proposed. Discussions on the new constitution are being carried out everyday in the ISA office—Union B-40 at 1 pm. All are welcome.

International Students' Association

Palestinian-Bedouin nation . . .

Sir,

For the past few weeks I have been reading some biased letters and articles with reference to the Arab-Israeli conflict. I have read some naive statement made by pro-Israel students and some slanderous ones by pro-Palestinians.

Being an Israeli and a Jew, I fervently think that Jews have a right to their own national self-determination and I would be able to argue this point with what I consider to be valid assertions. I doubt, though, whether I would be able to change any pro-Palestinian's strong convictions.

Let me then get to the point I wish to contend with. Two facts must be acknowleged: Israel does exist as a strong Jewish State and there are over a million Palestinian refugees outside Israel. As the situation exists, no amount of terrorism will affect Israel's stand. On the contrary. These acts evoke retaliation or similar acts of terror on the part of Israel.

Another reality which the pro-Palestinians must contend with is that the vast majority of Jews in Israel would never (for many diverse reasons) consent to Palestinian repatriation within pre-1967 Israeli boundaries. Any attempts made to theorize the validity of this repatriation are therefore futile.

It is because of these two basic facts that I think some thought should be given to plans entailing the creation of an independent Palestinian State outside Israel proper. There are two such plans currently in existence. The first is the Allon Plan, which involves the creation of a demilitarised Palestinian State in the West Bank and Gaza (which were, before their 1948 annexation by Jordan and Egypt respectively, part of Palestine). The other plan, proposed by Hussein, would incorporate the West Bank and Gaza into the existing Jordanian state with the intent of creating a coherent Palestinian-Bedouin nation.

Plans such as these must be considered if peace is to be attained. Nothing can through the propagation of anti-Zionism (which very often resembles all too menacingly the stand taken by anti-Semites). Neither can anything be achieved if chauvinistic Israelis are not prepared to make some concessions.

Issac Dorenbush E1

gay

November 24, 1972



Our gayness
is not something,
like skin colour,
or sex,
or infirmity,
immediately
apparent to
both us
and others.
We have to
discover our
homosexuality
and having
discovered it
we have
a wide range
of options,
hardly
available to
others who are
stigmatized,
as to
how far
we should
reveal
our
stigma.

Dennis Altman
Homosexual Oppression
and Liberation

The Politics of Gay Liberation

Reform or Revolution?

—bruce garside

The gay movement as it has developed in Canada, America and Western Europe has been represented by two political stances. The predominant position in the sense of numerical and organizational strength asserts that the struggle against sexism is primarily a civil rights issue to be fought by extending the doctrine of individual rights to exclude discrimination on the basis of sex and sexual preference. Other gay activists regard the struggle against sexual oppression to be a revolutionary one in the sense that it necessarily extends beyond a civil rights issue.

Civil Rights

As a civil rights issue the goals of gay liberation and its tactics are reminiscent of both the early stages of the black movement in the States and that of the more contemporary women's movement. Among the goals being sought are an end to discrimination in employment, abolition of laws against homosexuality, equality in taxation, an end to pejorative references to homosexuality in the press and a realization of the oppressive character of traditional religious and psychiatric views of homosexuality. The tactics of the gay civil rights movement include sit-ins, boycotts, petitions, demonstrations and other techniques familiar to the black movement.

The supposition of most of those who support the gay movement as a civil rights issue is that the oppression of gays can be eliminated within the confines of our present society. Those concerned with gay civil rights are primarily liberals, though that should not detract from the courage and strength they have shown or from the obvious benefits their actions have already brought to gay people.

Liberal rejection of Marxism

It must be admitted that the liberal gay rejection of Marxism on the basis of persistent sexism in post-revolutionary societies has some justification. Any attempt to defend, for example, the Cuba treatment of gay people is necessarily apologetic in character. While not denying that the Cuban revolution has been in other ways a liberation for the people, it is clear that little attempt has been made to move away from the traditional anti-gay attitudes of Latin society.

Immediately after the revolution, no attempt was made to distinguish between those gays who supported the revolution and those who were a part of the general moral corruption of Havana. It was assumed, and evidently still is by otherwise radical spokesman, that prostitution and homosexuality are justifiably lumped together. No attempt was or has been made to include gays in the revolution, resulting in the necessity of those who supported the revolution to remain "closeted." Having excluded gays from the revolution, it is rather hypocritical to justify their oppression on the grounds that they are outside the revolution. True, gay people are no longer imprisoned in Cuba, but a relatively recent proclamation of the government excludes them from the party and from representing their country in education or the arts abroad.

Probably few people would disagree with gay liberals that sexual oppression directed against both women and gays persists in the Marxist countries of Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. It is possible to point to those Marxist countries we know least about, e.g., China and North Vietnam, as places where the struggle against sexism is being waged with some vigour. Unfortunately, there is little information on the condition of gays in those countries, but what does filter through is not very hopeful. While in China attempts are evidently being made to eliminate persisting economic and educational discrimination against women, there seems to be no such attempt to eliminate sexism directed against gay people.

All of which leads to a certain sympathy toward the rejection of Marxism by gay people who have a civil rights orientation. It can be appreciated that if the struggle against gay oppression is seen as a civil rights issue, those rights still have to be fought for in post-revolutionary societies, and that it sometimes seems as if such a struggle would be more likely to succeed in a pre-revolutionary, liberal society.

The position that the gay liberation struggle is simply a civil rights issue is normally based upon one of two possible attitudes. First, the liberal position represents the view that there is no intrinsic relationship between sexism and other forms of social and political oppression. A second, not uncommon Marxist position is that sexism merely represents an offshoot of economic oppression. According to this view, the gay movement is a civil rights movement because it relates simply to the effects and not to the ultimate causes of oppression. To oppose the ultimate causes would be revolutionary, while to oppose the effects is merely reformist.

The liberal attitude could be countered by showing an intrinsic connection between sexism and other forms of oppression, the hypothetical Marxist position by questioning the reductionism upon which it is based.

Sex And Work

There are several factors which would lead to the conclusion that sexual oppression is an intrinsic aspect of the social situation in which we find ourselves. One such factor is the relationship between the deflection of sexual desires from their satisfaction and work. At least up to a certain point, the more sexual energies are denied their fulfillment, the more energy is available to be channelled into the work process. While some amount of deflection is probably a pre-requisite for there being any society at all, Freud felt that in the present society the limitations placed upon sexual expression had gone too far and represented a serious injustice.

The emphasis upon work as a criterion of self-worth in capitalist society necessitates the control and exploitation of sexuality. Sex becomes valuable only to the extent that sexual satisfaction enables an individual to perform more completely her or his social role. Sexuality must be fitted into the general aims of productivity. A more accepting attitude toward sexual expression and diversity would necessitate corresponding reappraisals of the concepts of work and self-worth.

Another factor linking sexism with our current society is the relationship between sexual oppression and aggression. It would seem likely that the more one's sexuality is frustrated, the more anger would be directed toward both the self and the environment. Hence, it could be expected that the level of aggression, expressed in some forms of sado-masochism, would increase with an increase of sexual oppression. While there is no justification for associating sadism with homosexuality in particular, it does seem connected with the repression of sexuality in general. Both homosexual and heterosexual desires, when denied their gratification, can readily emerge in the form of sadistic aggression. A relaxation of repressive attitudes toward sexuality should lead to a lessening of sado-masochistic manifestations in society. Since capitalist societies rely considerably upon such aggression for their internal and external protection, it is questionable that they could long survive such a relaxation.

Sex And Capitalism

A third factor linking the struggle against sexism with other forms of social and political oppression is that within capitalist society—among others—sexism has been exploited to enhance and secure the position of the ruling classes. The forms that such exploitation assumes in relation to women are well known and include such elements as the availability of a cheap labour force. A male homosexual may profit from such exploitation, but usually under the condition that he either be "closeted" or be allowed to engage in one of the few occupations available to those who are openly gay. Nevertheless, all gay men suffer from the exploitation of women in society.

The existence of gay men threatens the masculine self-image which is one of the foundations of male supremacy in our society. Hence, the same ideology which allows for the oppression of women compels male homosexuals either to conceal their identity or to exist in a ghetto. The fact that male homosexuals are often sexist in relation to women illustrates a common factor among all oppressed groups: the oppressed assume or internalize the values of their oppressors. Not only do oppressed homosexuals indulge in their own self-hatred, they often adopt with a vengeance the values of society in order to gain acceptance. Consumerism, opposition to gay liberation, and sexist attitudes toward women form the homosexual equivalent of Uncle Toms in relation to the black movement and the rather fierce female antagonists to women's liberation. It is part of the goal of gay liberation to eliminate such sexism among male homosexuals and in society as a whole. Again, such a goal, if achieved, would require a radical alteration of society as we know it.

Cause And Effect

In regard to the hypothetical Marxist position that gay liberation relates only to the effects, rather than the underlying causes, of oppression, it should first be pointed out that the same argument would apply in relation to the women's movement. Both are directed against sexism, and if the one is merely a civil rights issue, so is the other. The position rests on a species of the fallacy of reductionism. Reductionism involves regarding a particular range of phenomena, usually demarcated within a theoretical structure, as providing the fundamental causal factors at work in the world. The attempt is made to reduce all causal explanations to those factors which are taken as basic. The appeal of reductionism to the human mind is quite understandable. It allows for a comparatively simplified structure of explanation for events in the world and permits its exponent a higher degree of rhetorical agility than is possessed by a non-reductionist.

Varieties of Reductionism

There are several candidates offering a reductionist world-view in our society. One is what William James referred to as "medical materialism," the reduction of all human action to physiological occurrences. Another is put forth by some Freudian theorists and involves the explanation of all human phenomena in terms of that theoretical structure. Yet others can be provided by thorough-going religious systems.

The hypothetical Marxist position sketched above is itself an alternative reductionist theory. It attempts to reduce all occurrences in human society to the operation of economic forces. It would have to develop a theory of sexism into which other than economic forces did not function as primary causes. Such an explanation of sexism, were someone to develop it, would have a status similar to an attempt to reduce the lust after material gain to anal retentiveness. In

continued on page 6

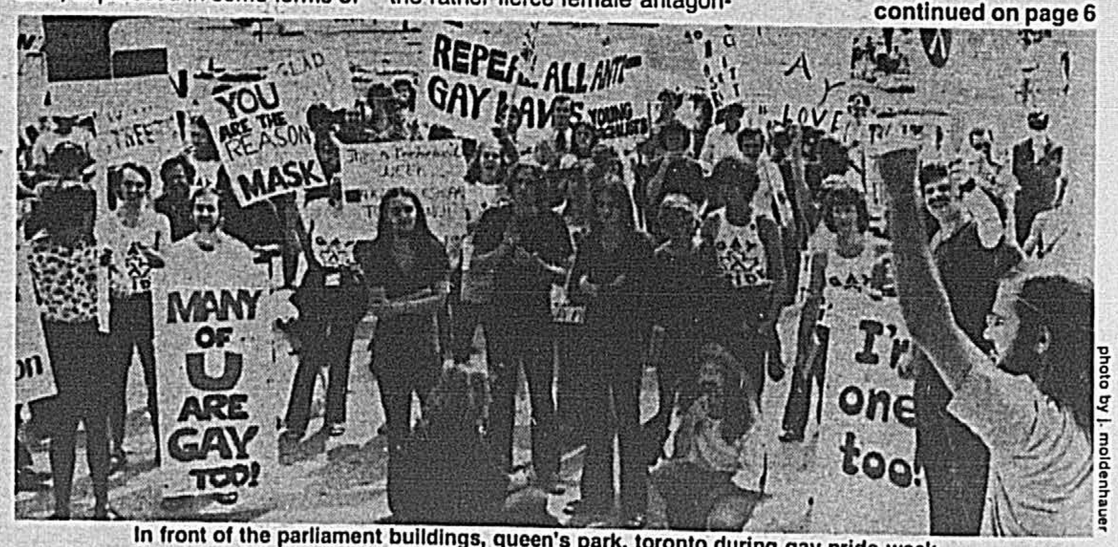


photo by j. moldenhauer

In front of the parliament buildings, queen's park, toronto during gay pride week.

THESE PEOPLE ARE ALL @CKSUCKERS @CKSUCKERS @CKSUCKERS @CKSUCKERS

History

Toronto & Vancouver



photo by g. hannon

The authors

—jearld moldenhauer & bob wallace

In a takeoff on the Kinsey statistics, a 1968 Globe & Mail article on homosexuality offered these facts: "There are more male homosexuals in Toronto than there are male Jews. For Canada . . .the male homosexual population, active or latent is approximately 1.8 million—larger than the combined populations of Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The figures for women are about 1/3 those for men." This means that even by the most conservative estimate there at least 2 million gay Canadians.

Gay liberation is a movement essentially concerned with human relations. Homosexuality is the focal point of our concern because it is in the expression of these feelings that we are oppressed. Understanding homosexual oppression inevitably leads to greater insights into all aspects of oppressive human behaviour.

Gay women's and children's liberation are all about the same thing: freedom to BE without roles; freedom from definitions and socialization which attempts to limit our ways of being and thinking; and freedom from persecution for expressing the love and imagination which constitute our individuality and affirm our existence. As well as dealing with the oppressive nature of society (anti-gay laws and attitudes) and with the residual aspects of our own sexist conditioning, it is the movement's obligation to work toward an increased sense of gay community and to provide the social services essential to our brothers and sisters.

These 3 objectives constitute the core of the Canadian gay liberation movement. Although especially progressive gay organizations exist in Ottawa and Saskatoon as well as in Toronto and Vancouver, we will limit this discussion to an historical consideration of gay liberation in the two larger urban centres.

The autonomous aspects of university functioning and the genuine or at least token defense of political and social freedom attributed to the academic world, make the university a logical place in which to begin organizing the gay community. Although within a large metropolitan area the university based group may soon outgrow the ability to serve the needs of the larger community, in a small town situation, a university oriented gay movement continues to offer the most practical organizational base. The evolution of Toronto's movement provides an indication of this.

By the end of its first year, University of Toronto Homophile Association meetings were so crowded that it became imperative to organize a larger, community based organization. With George Hislop as founding force, the Community Homophile association of Toronto came into being during January of 1971. A small office was rented and CHAT secured use of downtown Toronto's Holy Trinity Church for meetings and dances.

Impetus was added in February when CHAT became the first gay organization to receive financial assistance from the federal government:funded as an Opportunities for Youth project, CHAT was able to initiate its social service work, hiring gay people to operate a 24 hr. telephone distress service, to offer personal counselling, and to provide courtroom aid to gays busted because of discriminatory laws and police entrapment.

In July 1971 several CHAT activists suggested a demonstration in Ottawa for the presentation of a brief demanding the elimination of anti-gay statutes in the Criminal Code and Immigration Act. CHAT's decision not to formally sponsor the effort (probably related to CHAT's attempt keep a low key political profile while receiving Liberal government funding, and as well reflecting the reality that CHAT membership cuts across all levels of political consciousness) precipitated the founding of Toronto Gay Action.

TGA organized Canada's first gay protest demonstration in Ottawa on August 28, 1971, while Vancouver gay groups held a supportative protest. Since its founding, TGA has been responsible for several political efforts, including a picket of the CBC for its documentary on homosexuality ("*Nothing To Hide*"), filmed in New York with anti-gay psychiatrist L. Hatterer as the "expert" around whom the show was oriented. Leafletting the Parkside Tavern in order to put an end to police entrapment of gays in that bar's washroom, and the annual leafletting of Hallowe'en crowds (upwards of 10,000) which gather to watch the drag queens parade down Yonge Street are other examples of TGA's political activism.

A further expansion of the gay movement came with the establishment of *The Body Politic*, a gay newspaper which sought to offer a new, more positive basis for gay action. An outgrowth of TGA, the paper allowed radical workers to extend their sphere of influence and converse with gays across the country.

In *Love's Body*, Norman O. Brown wrote that "The revolutionary idea in psychoanalysis is the idea of the body as a political organization,—a body politic; as a historical variable, as plastic." This quotation provides an indication of the paper's primary function: to provide a dialogic vehicle for the analysis of sexual politics. In the past the scandal oriented straight press has tended to ignore or misrepresent the gay movement, thereby contributing to the oppression of homosexuals. Through providing national coverage for gays, *The Body Politic* attempts to create an awareness of societal oppression and to facilitate the "coming out" process.

Just as the Toronto movement has moved increasingly towards more concrete social analysis, the Vancouver organizations have tended to move away from the local politics of personality toward those based upon concrete issues. Originally, the Vancouver scene was dominated by the Gay

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Montreal-FLH

—luc doré

The Front de Libération homosexuelle (FLH) has been in existence for one year. Although the FLH was the first gay group to be organized in Montreal, few people are aware of its existence, its history or its orientation. This article is an attempt to clarify some of these points.

The first steps: During the winter of 1971, a dozen people, most of them associated with *Mainmise*, a Montreal underground magazine, began meeting at each other's apartments to discuss gay issues. The group grew rapidly, and by Summer 1971, it was necessary to hold meetings at the University Settlement.

Organization Hassles: Since FLH was the only gay group in Montreal, it attracted gay people representing various ideological and political persuasions. Such a diversity of views caused many conflicts to develop concerning the way FLH could be permanently organized. By November 1971, the decision was made to legally incorporate FLH. As a result of this decision, those who had composed the left wing of FLH (including its original founders) dropped out.

At approximately the same time, the membership decided that some sort of drop-in centre was needed to serve the needs of the total gay community. Soon after FLH was incorporated (with a limited responsibility charter), a drop-in centre was established on St. Denis St. Committees were then formed to deal with legal affairs, public relations, consciousness raising, finances and social activities. Although the general membership of FLH was by this time quite large, few of the members worked actively with the committees, resulting in the committees producing few tangible results.

Another problem arose almost immediately from the fact that FLH had not attempted to define its goals or policies in any specific way before beginning extensive membership recruitment. By the time membership had grown to a sizeable number, it was too late to formulate goals and policies, simply because the membership was so politically and ideologically diverse. Reaching any sort of consensus proved impossible.

After the initial surge of membership—that is, after the novelty of a gay organization in Montreal wore off—membership gradually dropped off and fewer people made use of the drop-in centre. In attempting to appeal to so many viewpoints at once, the centre failed to represent any viewpoint at all in a satisfactory way. By April 1972, when the lease for the St. Denis centre ended, the membership was unable to reach agreement on establishing a new centre.

As a result, FLH was left without a gathering place, and inter-group communication was minimal. By June 1972, however, the FLH board of governors managed to find a new location for the centre at the corner of Sanguinet and St. Catherine Streets.

The raid: The new centre was opened on June 17 with a dance which ended in the early morning hours when Montreal police raided the centre and arrested forty people, charging them with being found in an establishment which was selling liquor without a permit.

And the trial: On August 16, the case came to trial with all involved pleading not guilty. The case was dropped on November 8 because of errors made in the technicalities of pressing charges. Though no one associated with FLH was successfully prosecuted, the harassment has been sufficient to frighten off many of the existing members and to discourage prospective members from joining. As a result of the raid, the FLH executive, resigned. They then found it necessary to invoke emergency powers to lower the FLH voting quorum so that a new executive could be elected by the decimated membership.

The New Executive: Election of a new executive failed to solve the many problems of FLH. Although the trial had been brought to a successful conclusion, the group was still faced with financial and membership difficulties. Even after financial matters were cleared up, the executive was forced to abandon the Ste. Catherine St. drop-in centre, since the June raid had been tremendously successful in scaring off gays who feared subsequent police action.

The Future: The FLH executive is still extant, however, and is working to reorganize. In the near future the executive plans to meet with former members and anyone else interested in a Francophone gay group in order to open discussion on the causes for FLH's rapid disintegration, and the ways to restructure the group while eliminating the original causes of disintegration. After meeting with interested persons (hopefully in small groups) concerning these matters, the executive plans to produce a manifesto concerning the goals of FLH so that prospective members would be aware of the group's ideology before joining.

THESE PEOPLE ARE ALL FAGGOTS FAGGOTS FAGGOTS FAGGOTS F









We are women first and foremost

We live in a society dominated by the theory, if not the practice, of male homosexuality. Men are taught to please other men, to prefer the company of men, to have more respect for male strength, ego, intelligence, humour, etc., but never, never to consider the possibility of sex with a man. Sex, in male supremacist culture, is something you do *to* someone, not something you share with an equal. When a male enjoys a physical relationship with another male, he becomes less of "a man" and, presumably, more like a woman, God forbid.

Women, on the other hand, are taught to accept total and complete heterosexuality: to please men, to prefer the company of men, to have more respect for male strength, ego, intelligence, humour, etc., but never, never to consider the possibility of sex with a woman. Besides, even if she wanted to, a woman hasn't got "the necessary equipment". For when a woman enjoys a physical relationship with another woman, she abandons her "femininity" and, presumably, becomes more like a man.

Which should be good, right?

Wrong. Male is superior to female, but a woman who doesn't want to be a female obviously has something wrong with her. Like she's a lesbian.

(Cold shivers down the spines of straight feminists reading this article. Mutters of "No, no, not necessarily. I just want to be equal, that's all.")

And we all know about lesbians, don't we? *Especially* straight feminists, most of whom at one time or another have realized the absolute absurdity of being expected to love your oppressor, and have considered (briefly) loving another woman. Lesbians are manhaters, right? Lesbians are women who are trying to be like men, right? Oh, yeah, granted, there's a bit of a paradox there, but that's where it's at, right?

Horseshit.

Lesbians are women who are trying to be human beings, and, at the risk of sounding like a gay female chauvinist, which I most assuredly am, are probably the sanest people around. In a society where all but the most radical feminists recognize men as their oppressors and still suck up to them, still play house with them, still trade self-realization for security and social acceptance, nobody can tell me that being gay isn't the healthiest response a woman can have.

So what I would like to know is, why are gay women hiding in a social movement like gay liberation, which is largely male-organized, male-dominated and has among its members some of the most incredibly sexist men I have ever met?

Gay women, as a group, have absolutely nothing in common with gay men except for being gay, and that's just not enough. All gay liberation is ever going to do for gay women is to turn them into second class citizens instead of third. Women in the gay movement are in exactly the same space as they were in the peace movement, and the new left, and the civil rights movement and in every other movement right down through history—that is, helping the men, taking second place to the men, always forgetting that as gays, revolutionaries, students, workers, or whatever: *We are women first and foremost*.

Women with all the discrimination and stereotypes and oppression and exploitation that are our birthright.

First, we must organize as women. It's time for a gay women's movement to do some re-education of straight movement women. If we're feared in the movement, if we're undesirables, if we're expected to conform to fifty-year old stereotypes of gay women—it's our fault. If we join women's liberation, we do it as individuals, almost apologizing for being gay, 'cause, gee, you know, if people know that we... um... gay women are in your group, then they might think that you're gay too, and you'd lose your—what do you call it—your *credibility*, right?

A lot of horseshit! You'll just lose your nice image of really being very normal ordinary women who want to liberate men too—call it *human* liberation. Well, pardon my cynicism, but I really believe that any person, in any movement, is there because there are certain things that person wants from the world, but knows that she/he will never get them by standing up as an individual. Call it sisterhood, brotherhood, anything you want, it's the old concept of strength in numbers.

Which brings me to my proposal: that a group of political gay women get together and call a conference for movement women in Montreal to show them who we are and what we are and where we're at, and find out how we can work together as women.

The number is 843-6431.

It's not mine. I have absolutely no intention of identifying myself in this article, because it gives me great pleasure to know that the women I know in the movement are going to wonder if I wrote this, and other women are going to wonder if somebody else wrote it, and on and on down the line. If anybody asks me, I'm either going to grin broadly or protest vehemently and I hope all the others do the same.

Yeah, all you straight movement women—there's a gay feminist running around somewhere that you are going to be seeing more of.

Providing of course, that you don't look for here in the Student Union ballroom.

THESE PEOPLE ARE ALL *dykes dykes dykes dykes dykes dykes dykes d*











Notes of a radical lesbian

—martha shelley

Lesbianism is one road to freedom—freedom from oppression by men.

To see Lesbianism in this context—as a mode of living neither better nor worse than others, as one which offers its own opportunities—one must abandon the notion that deviance from the norm arises from personal illnesses.

For women, as for other groups, there are several American norms. All of them have their rewards, and their penalties. The nice girl next door, virginal until her marriage—the Miss America type—is rewarded with community respect and respectability. She loses her individually and her freedom, to become a toothpaste smile and chastity belt. The career woman gains independence and a large margin of freedom—if she is willing to work twice as hard as a man for less pay, and if she can cope with emotional strains similar to those that beset the black intellectual surrounded by white colleagues. The starlet, call girl, or bunny, whose source of income is directly related to her image as a sex object, gains some financial independence and freedom from housework. She doesn't have to work as hard as the career woman, but she pays through psychological degradation as a sex object, and through the insecurity of knowing that her career, based on youthful good looks, is short-lived.

The Lesbian, through her ability to obtain love and sexual satisfaction from other women, is freed of dependence on men for love, sex, and money. She does not have to do menial chores for them (at least at home), nor cater to their egos, nor submit to hasty and inept sexual encounters. She is freed from fear of unwanted pregnancy and the pains of childbirth, and from the drudgery of child raising.

On the other hand, she pays three penalties. The rewards of child raising are denied her. This is a great loss for some women, but not for others. Few women abandon their children, as compared with the multitudes of men who abandon both wives and children. Few men take much interest in the process of child raising. One suspects that it might not be much fun for the average person, and so the men leave it to the women.

The Lesbian still must compete with men in the job market, facing the same job and salary discrimination as her straight sister. Finally, she faces the most severe contempt and ridicule that society can heap on a woman.

When a woman showed up at a feminist meeting and announced that she was a Lesbian, many women avoided her. Others told her to keep her mouth shut, for fear that she would endanger the cause. They felt that men could be persuaded to accept some measure of equality for women—as long as these women would parade their devotion to heterosexuality and motherhood.

A woman who is totally independent of men—who obtains love, sex, and self-esteem from other women—is a terrible threat to male supremacy. She doesn't need them, and therefore they have less power over her.

Lesbians, because they are not afraid of being abandoned by men, are less reluctant to express hostitity toward the male class—the oppressors of women. Hostility toward your oppressor is healthy, but the guardians of modern morality, the psychiatrists, have interpreted this hostility as an illness, and they say this illness causes and is Lesbianism.

If hostility to men causes Lesbianism, then it seems to me that in a male-dominated society, Lesbianism is a sign of mental health.

The psychiatrists have also forgotten that Lesbianism involves love between women. Isn't love between equals healthier than sucking up to an oppressor?

Freud founded the myth of penis envy, and men have asked me "But what can two women do together?" As though a penis were the *sine qua non* of sexual pleasure! Man, we can do without it, and keep it going longer, too!

Men fear Lesbians because they are less dependent, and because their hostility is less controlled.

Straight women fear Lesbians because of the Lesbian inside them, because we represent an alternative. They fear us for the same reason that uptight middle-class people fear hip people. They are angry at us because we have a way out that they are afraid to take.

And what happens to the Lesbian under all this pressure? Many of my sisters, confused by the barrage of anti-gay propaganda, have spent years begging to be allowed to live. They have come begging because they believed they were psychic cripples, and that other people were healthy and had the moral right to judge them. Many have lived in silence, burying themselves in their careers, like name-changing Jews or blacks who passed for white. Many have retreated into an apolitical domesticity, concerning themselves only with the attempt to maintain a love relationship in a society which attempts to destroy love and replace it with consumer goods, and which attempts to completely destroy any form of love outside the monogamous marriage.

Because *Lesbian* has become such a vile epithet, we have been afraid to fight openly. We can lose our jobs; we have fewer civil rights than any other minority group. Because we have few family ties and no children, for the most part, we have been active in many causes, but always in secret because our name contaminates any cause that we work for.

To the radical Lesbian, I say that we can no longer afford to fight for everyone else's cause while ignoring our own. Ours is a life-style born out of a sick society; so is everyone else's. Our kind of love is as valid as anyone else's. The revolution must be fought for us, too, not only for blacks, Indians, welfare mothers, grape pickers, SDS people, Puerto Ricans, or mine workers. We must have a revolution for *human rights*. If we are in a bag, it's as good as anyone else's bag.

Maybe after the revolution, people will be able to love each other regardless of skin color, ethnic origin, occupation, or type of genitals. But if that's going to happen, it will only happen because we make it happen—starting right now.

dykes dykes dykes dykes dykes dykes dykes dykes dykes dykes

boys in the back

or how a movie made me come out

—will aitken

I suppose you could say it was a movie that brought me out.

What movie? *The Boys in the Band*, of course. I was so moved by the ultimate pathetic, but nevertheless uplifting, truths of that fine and daring film that I burst out of my closet shouting joyous affirmations of my gayness. Well, not quite.

I mean, I did see *The Boys in the Band* and then—six months later—I did come out and there was a causality at work there somewhere, but...

...it was the summer of 1970 and I was living in St. Louis. I remember the pre-opening radio ads distinctly: *"The Boys in the Band* is not a musical!"—a caveat that the first two or three times heard got knowing smiles from me and from the determinedly straight group of people I was living with at the time. We all knew what *The Boys in the Band* was about; two years before, Mart Crowley's play had been hailed as the frankest treatment of homosexuality to hit Broadway. And now it was a movie, a serious movie about homosexuals.

God knows why we decided to go to the premiere, but we did, after careful (and tacit) considerations of the logistics of such a venture: "Hey, why don't we all go together?" ("since not all of us have dates and I'm not going to be caught dead going with another guy").

Careful planning paid off, for when we—three guys and two girls—arrived at the theatre, we found our kind of crowd. Not a queer in the place from the looks of things. Everyone with a date or at least in a carefully mixed group. Lots of wrist-flexing and basso voices. Serious conversations echoing across the lobby: "My sister saw it in Boston and said she really gained insight into the problems of The Homosexual"... "No, none of the actors are really homosexual—I saw Cliff Gorman on Johnny Carson the other night, and he's married"... "My lit prof says some of Shakespeare's sonnets were written for a boy."

Very little traffic at the concession stand. This was not a popcorn crowd. We all headed for our seats and settled in, determined to keep an open mind concerning what we were about to see, prepared at all costs to be at least compassionate. Then, just before the houselights went down, *they* entered. We heard them first, an unsettling cacaphony of falsetto shrieks and giggles: "Hurry up, girls, it's about to start"... "Herbie, I wanted Juicy FRUIT, not Doublemint." A hundred heads swivelled to take in the spectacle just beginning at the rear of the theatre. A gaggle of gays—probably no more than 15 or so, but from our perspective there seemed to be literally scores of them—pranced, skipped and otherwise just plain camped their way into the last few rows of seats. They were wearing outlandish clothes and sparkling dimestore jewelry and some of them had flowers behind their ears and some of them were even—gasp!—holding hands.

Well, it was a bit much wasn't it? But then we were a very tolerant audience, weren't we? We could take a bit of fun, couldn't we? So we smiled benign smiles and even laughed—discreetly—when one of *them* squealed something particularly outrageous.

This admirable atmosphere of tolerance prevailed even after the movie began, for the boys in the back provided an amusing counterpoint to the campy antics of the boys in *The Boys in the Band*. In fact, the quips from the boys in the back generally proved to be much funnier and certainly much fresher than the stagey zingers ("There's one thing to be said for masturbation—at least you don't have to look your best") the playwright saw fit to embalm in his subsequent screenplay.

But even an understanding and compassionate audience has its tolerance threshhold, and when the movie took its serious turn and the boys in the back didn't, people started getting angry. Hostile looks and loud "shhhs!" were aimed toward the back rows. But to no avail. At the very height of the drama, when the audience was really getting into the main character as he moaned, "I'm tired of livin' and scared of dyin'", one of the boys in the back trilled out "Ole Man Ribahhhh!"

That did it. Angry mutterings about "goddam fags" could be heard on all sides. People were pissed. Here they were giving their all to a movie about homosexuals and therefore giving their all to understanding homosexuals, to accepting the fact that homosexuals are just like—well, almost—other people, and then there are these queers in the back spoiling everything.

It was an angry audience that left the theatre that night. I was angry too—furious, in fact. But my anger had little to do with the boys in the back. I wasn't quite sure what they were trying to accomplish, but I was certain that whatever it was—guerrilla camp, perhaps?—was easily more valid than anything I'd just witnessed on the screen.

For *The Boys in the Band* struck me as an almost totally dishonest film, crammed full of bogus concern and ersatz sentiment, soap opera masking as relevant drama. Mart Crowley brought to his screenplay all the elements that were wrong in the play. The creaky and mechanical, albeit time-honored, structure ("The Party... "The Confrontation Game"... "The Truth Revealed"—the plot of *Who's Afraid of Viriginia Woolf?* without the genius of Albee) made the transition intact. Also retained was the rampant stereotypy that prompted one critic to refer to the characters as a new twist on the 1940's movie bomber crew—the nellie faggot, the Queen of Spades, the neurotic Jew, etc. And the resultant false premise—that one can reveal the true nature of a person by stripping away his defences, his appearances—was played for all it was worth. This premise may not be inherently false from a psychological point of view, but from a dramatic one—well, if one takes away a stereotype's appearances, all his identifying tics and foibles, one is left with nothing.

Which is exactly what happens in *The Boys in the Band*. The dice are loaded from the start, and at the end of the film we are served up with miserable creatures whose suffering seem bathetic only because they weren't well enough written characters at the start to bear up under any sort of dramatic strain at the end.

The boys in the back, then, were right: they had no choice but to attempt to disrupt the film in any way they could. *The Boys in the Band* was exploitative in the worst sense of the word, first because it was an attempt to extract a second success from a sure, if shoddy, thing, and second because it patronized both homosexuals (as fit subjects for a new sort of freak show cum soap opera) and audiences (as complacent consumers of the aforementioned). The consumers I left the theatre with that summer night were by no means complacent. They may have hated the boys in the back, but they at least weren't allowed to love *The Boys in the Band*.

• • • •

I've intentionally avoided a wide-ranging discussion of gay-content movies simply because I've had such limited access to them. Offhand, I can cite a few good examples, mostly experimental or semi-experimental (Jack Smith's witty and beautifully erotic *Flaming Creatures*, some of the Warhol-Morissey productions, Mark Lester's ingenuous presentation of the Cockettes of San Francisco in *Tricia's Wedding*, Shirley Clarke's *Portrait of Jason*).

But there are so many other films available, covering the whole spectrum of gay experience a comprehensive festival of gay films would not be too difficult to put together. And it would sure beat the hell out of writing (or reading) about them.

If enough people are interested, maybe we could put together McGill's first Gay Film Festival for sometime next term. If you'd like to help out, or if there's a film you'd especially like to see included in the festival, give me a call at 844-9246.

continued from page 2

opposition to these various species of reductionism, it can only be suggested that oppression has many facets and causes. Diverse theoretical structures illuminate differing aspects of oppression. It depends on our interests and purposes what theoretical structure we utilize to come to grips with oppression, and no one structure can justifiably be regarded as the most fundamental.

It should be stressed that the reductionist position being discussed has been referred to as a possible or hypothetical Marxist position to make it clear that not all Marxist theoreticians could readily be classified as reductionist. An illustration of a non-reductionist Marxist stance could be provided in the writings of Marcuse. In addition, it is evident that Marxism does not provide the only theoretical basis upon which a revolutionary gay position could be based. Anarchism provides one possible alternative.

Basis for Common Action

It would seem possible that those who view gay liberation as a civil rights movement and those who see it as revolutionary could be able to work together in the same movement. While the goals and tactics of the latter may extend beyond those of the former, they can both unite in attacks on specific institutions of sexism. In principle, a broad front of common action should be possible. If the revolutionary perspective is correct, then the attempt to combat sexism should increasingly involve the necessity to attack other institutions of capitalist society. To what extent the present society can endure an assault against sexism without being radically transformed will be determined by history, but it remains necessary to make the assault.

continued from page 3

Liberation Front. Dick Rulens seceding from the GLF formed the Gay Activists Alliance. Following upon this split many of the remaining GLF members merged with Roedy Green's newly founded Gay Alliance Toward Equality (GATE) leaving the movement divided into two opposing factions. The political orientations of the two groups were not immediately apparent: Their identities initially appeared to relate more to the personality differences of their leadership. This split reflects one of the strengths and, concomitantly, one of the weaknesses of gay organizations in their early stages of development. Because they are dependent upon core individuals instrumental in their inception they are at once easily formed and dominated by those who are sufficiently willing to work for the liberation group.

The superficial distinctions between GATE and GAA began, however, to assume more concrete forms with the boycott of the Castle Hotel instigated by Green. Once a gay tavern, the management decided to refurbish the hotel and to exclude its former gay patrons. Resenting the arbitrary decision, particularly in light of the hotel's exploitative history, GATE picketted the premises demanding the end to the hotel's new discriminatory practices.

GAA's Rulens, however, opposed GATE's action, even going so far as to cross the picket line set up by the rival organization. This, in addition to Maurice Flood's ascendency to GATE's leadership, iniated the move away from personality oriented politics toward a concern for more concrete social and political issues.

This development culminated during the B.C. provincial and recent federal elections. Rulens in support of Bennett's Socreds, announced that Social Credit had assumed a pro-gay stand, but a few days later party members repudiated this claim urging the castration of gays: such a move would prevent us from reproducing our own kind! With GAA's credibility severely damaged, GATE confronted candidates for both provincial and federal office and gained fairly consistent support for gay rights from the NDP. This, in addition to relatively sympathetic coverage by the Vancouver press, has made GATE into a viable, effective and militant political group: the issues of personality have been subjugated to more important and concrete social and political problems.

One major aspect of the gay liberation dynamic is the ongoing process of evolution and redefinition which enable the movement to grow and reflect the realities of the liberating process.

Within our movement standing up and affirming your gayness is referred to as "coming out". One might say that this itself is an essential experience of the liberating process. Life is an ongoing process of coming out—of opening the doors of perception and coming closer to realizing our unique selves, expressing an affirmation of life through liberated physical and intellectual communications. Social revolution will succeed only when all of us come out.

THESE PEOPLE ARE ALL fairies fairies fairies fairies fairies fairies fairies fairies fairies fairies fairies

Some initial steps towards gay liberation

Gay people are victims.

We are the victims of discrimination by every institution in this society. Homosexuals are prevented legally from being hired by governments, the largest employers in the country. Homosexuals have absolutely no legal recourse against being fired for asserting our identity. Tax laws penalize us for refusing to embrace the exploitative institution of marriage. The Criminal Code of Canada provides fines and jail terms for gays who publicy display affection for each other.

We are the victims of businessmen who promote a ghetto mentality among us, convincing us that their establishments provide the only alternative to a furtive, lonely existence. They have created a marketplace where the goods for sale are ourselves and our *selves*.

But most important, we are the victims of our own identities. We submit to social conditioning which tells us that because we are gay we must conform to self-destructive, rigid stereotypes. We abdicate our humanity for an illusory security.

Only by breaking out of our isolation and working with each other can we gain control over our own lives and stop the process of victimization.

Some gays have begun organizing to fight discriminatory practices and laws, to establish alternative institutions which meet their real needs, and to develop their individuality while collectively rejecting stereotypes.

A step in this direction was taken by members of the Montreal gay community when regular meetings began in the Redpath Drop-in Center this September. One result has been the establishment of GAY, a university group chartered by the McGill Students' Society. Simultaneously, the non-university members agreed upon an interim executive to work towards setting up a drop-in centre to serve the community. McGill's GAY group secured initial funding for the center from the Students' Society.

A gay telephone service (also funded initially by McGill) to handle distress and information calls is scheduled to begin operating in December.

As soon as a satisfactory location can be found, we hope to undertake consciousness raising in earnest. At the present time, there are two groups involved in consciousness-raising work to prepare them to run the gay telephone service. By beginning to understand the social processes which have led us to victimize ourselves, by understanding the effects that process had on us, we can begin to look for causes, the causes of our oppression, and begin to identify the oppressors.

This process can provide gays with the insight into the forces which operate on all victims of society, be they gay, women, Indians or poor. And we can begin to fight back.

The first steps are being taken now at the gay community meetings being held at McGill. All gay people should involve themselves in the organization; through collective discussion and organization, we can re-exert control over our own lives.

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Problems? Feel you need to rap with a rabbi. Call Israel Hausman 341-3580

Happy Birthday to Linda, Marty, Dave, Sherrill and me. Moss, you can go see your dirty movies legally now. Bob.

Long haired girl peasant blouse, who enjoyed intermission stretch at R. D. Laing (near entrance corner). Desire conversation 733-4333 after 8.

MISCELLANEOUS

Conservative, Eastern Townships weekend ski group requires members (cross country, downhill, snowshoeing, congenial company, good food, interesting conversation). 467-5501 evening.

METAMUSIC The Sound of Three Hands Clapping. Wednesday 8:30 p.m. in concert. FREE

Bookbinding—Add to your home library, reference works preserved, Journals, Periodicals bound into books. Information 392-4666. Evenings 488-6521.

WANTED

Leaving for Florida middle of December. Looking for co-driver. Call 488-7463 after 4 pm.

ENTERTAINMENT

Don't be afraid. Come see Roman Polanski's "REPULSION" Saturday Nov. 25 at 7:00 PM or 9:30 PM in the Frank Dawson Adams Auditorium.

THE GREAT PECARVE returns; to put on a live show complete with mass hypnosis. Saturday, Nov. 25 at 8:00 PM in L132. For info Call: 392-3094.

The Graduates' Children's Film Program presents PINOCCHIO, Saturday, November 25, 11:00 and 2:30, Leacock 132. 50c. Bring your parents. 392-8934.

McGill Film Society Suspense Series presents CRY TERROR directed by A.L. Stone with James Mason and Rod Steiger. Plus Chapter IV of PERILS OF PAULINE. Leacock 132 7:00 & 9:30, 50c, 392-8934. No extra charge for security blankets.

PUB NITE PHASE II Friday, November 24, 8:00 PM. R.V.C. "old cafeteria" 641 Sherbrooke (corner of Sherbrooke and University) Band: WEIGHT 3 beers/$1.00.

It's a square dance you idiot! Come kick up your heels with M.O.C. in the ballroom Friday night at eight. Members 25c non-members 50c.

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LOST

Female dog, beige with black face. Decarie-Van Horne, Wed. Nov. 15th. Reward! Please call 737-9963, 737-7473.

Zippered black binder on lower campus field Thursday Nov. 16. Notes contained are important. If found please call Bob 739-7893. Thanks.

Black suede gloves and navy blue hat in Leacock 132, Wednesday, Nov. 22. Please call Michele 486-0420. Small reward.

WALLET: Would whoever found my wallet, please send me my I.D. cards, licences and passes. Keep the rest. Anne Kotiuga.

Lost: Blue and green beret, Saturday night, R.D. Laing talk. Sentimental value. Call Jamie, 849-7881.

Lost: A key ring with about 15 keys in the Union Tuesday evening. Extremely important to owner. Call 845-8061, Rosemary.

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Directed by Roman Polanski
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Friday, Nov. 24, 1972

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English Department
Drama Programme
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Tickets: Union Box Office (392-8926) or at the door.
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Who controls the media?



by Michel Celemenski

Freedom of the press, like free enterprise, may have existed in the past, but in corporate society it has become simply another convenient myth.

For example, just before the First World War there were 138 daily newspapers in Canada—and there were 138 publishers. In 1953 Canada had only 89 newspapers and 57 publishers. By 1966 there were 110 newspapers and 63 publishers. Today, 14 publishing groups produce more than two-thirds of the country's 116 dailies.

In terms of circulation, the 77 dailies controlled by these 14 groups account for 3,614,354 copies or 77 percent of total Canadian daily output. Three groups—Southam, Thomson, and F.P.—control 45 percent of total circulation.

This tendency towards concentration can be explained in terms of simple economics. The bigger a newspaper's circulation, the lower its per unit costs. For example, average annual cost per 1000 columns in 1968 for a newspaper with 10,000 circulation was about $1.60, whereas the comparable cost for a newspaper with 250,000 circulation was about 45c.

This means that a smaller newspaper must raise 3 1/2 times as much revenue as the larger one. Hence advertising rates will be 3 1/2 times as high as well.

Another significant fact is that only 10 cities in Canada have more than one daily newspaper. Of these, Vancouver's two dailies are published by one corporation owned by two newspaper groups. Moncton and Sherbrooke have two dailies but they are published in different languages. In essence, only seven cities have "competing" newspapers. In English Montreal this competitiveness can, of course, be symbolized by the intense debates going on between the *Star* and the *Gazette*.

If one looks at ownership patterns of the *Star* and the *Gazette* we see that they are part of large financial concerns whose interests go far beyond publishing.

The *Montreal Star* is owned by the McConnell family, whose financial empire was built up by J. W. McConnell and left to his children. The family also owns the Montreal Standard Publishing Company (MSPC) which owns *Weekend* and has a 24.7 percent interest in *Perspectives* and *Perspectives-Dimanche*.

Weekend is a supplement in 39 daily newspapers with a combined circulation of 1,805,839. *Perspectives* is a French-language supplement published in 6 Quebec dailies with a circulation of 828,430. *Perspectives-Dimanche* is distributed as part of *Le Dimanche-Matin*, a weekly with 290,000 circulation owned by the Desmarais-Parisien-Francoeur group, owners of Power Corporation and *La Presse* (discussed below in detail).

As printer of *Weekend*, MSPC competes with *Canadian Homes* and *The Canadian Magazine*, owned by Southstar Publishers Limited (controlled 50 percent by the Toronto *Star* and 50 percent by Southam News, the latter also owning the *Gazette*.

In late 1969, Southstar announced that their two supplement magazines would be published by MSPC. Also, Southstar and MSPC have established MagnaMedia Ltd. as their joint advertising sales agency and market researching company.

The *Star*'s McConnell family owns 88 percent of the shares of Commercial Trust Company which is held by the Montreal Trust Company with an agreement granting voting rights to J. S. McConnell and Mrs. P. M. Laing during their lifetimes.

The Commercial Trust Company, in turn, owns *The Montreal Star* (1968) Ltd. and MSPC as well as Canada Wide Feature Service Ltd. and Infocor Ltd. as a trustee for Starlaw Investment Ltd.

Starlaw is owned by SLSR Holdings Ltd., (previously known as St. Lawrence Sugar Refineries Ltd.) a different corporate entity than that which publishes the *Star*.

As the Davies Commission sums up, "The circle is completed with ownership in trust by the Commercial Trust Company of virtually all of the outstanding shares of the companies that control Starlaw Investments—SLSR Holdings Ltd. and *Montreal Star* Holdings Ltd. The Commercial Trust Company is the registered owner of the shares of these two companies as the sole trustee on behalf of the descendents of the late Mr. McConnell."

The Gazette is owned by Southam Press Limited, a public corporation, with no single interest greater than 3.6 percent, but effectively controlled by a large number of shareholders related to the Southam family by birth and marriage. In 1969, the company's revenue was $104.7 million and its profits $8.07 million.

Apart from *The Gazette*, the company controls eleven daily newspapers with a combined circulation of 849,364, or 18 percent of total Canadian circulation. In addition, it holds minority interest in three other dailies, and a 50 percent share in Pacific Press Limited, which publishes the F.P. owned *Vancouver Sun* and *Vancouver Province*, part of the Southam group.

Southam wholly owns *The Financial Times of Canada*, a national weekly business paper. In this field, Southam produces 35 trade magazines and 15 industrial annuals through its wholly owned subsidiary, Southam Business Publications Limited.

In 1970, Southam also purchased National Business Publications of Gardenvale, Quebec, thereby gaining control of 14 other trade and professional journals.

Through a number of subsidiaries and holding companies, Southam has invested in printing operations, radio stations, television stations, cable television systems, television programming, commercial production, record companies and trade shows.

The third English language daily of Quebec is the *Quebec City Chronicle Telegraph*, owned by none other than Lord Thomson of Fleet. The Thomson group's interests in North America are vast with revenues of $92,861,000 in 1968 and a net profit of $9,107,290. This represents a 57 percent increase in profits over 1967 and a total gain of revenues amounting to more than $42 million.

The company owns 30 dailies in Canada representing a circulation of 400,615 or 8.5 percent of the Canadian total. The company also owns 11 weeklies in Canada and 42 daily and weekly papers in the U.S. and publishing interests throughout the world. For example, in England Thomson publishes the *Sunday Times* and the *Times of London*.

The three chains—Thomson, McConnell, and Southam—own 97.5 percent of the daily circulation of English-language newspapers in Quebec through the *Chronicle-Telegraph*, the *Star*, and the *Gazette*. This is not considered monopoly, of course, since ownership is in the hands of three separate corporate interests.

The general manager of the *Fredericton Gleaner*, Mr. Sparing, in a court appearance last Monday, denied ever having been given a directive by the management.

As mentioned above, Southam owns 50 percent of Southstar Publishers Limited and is linked to the McConnell family through the Montreal Standard Publishing Company (MSPC) and Magna-Media.

Assuming Mr. Sparing was not told to say this in court, it is still unrealistic to contemplate that Mr. Irving or the Irving empire has no influence over the editor. How can an editor who belongs to one of Mr. Irving's papers effectively criticize the corporation which pays him and owns most of the rest of the province?

The French-language press in Montreal is as equally controlled by large corporate chains as its English counterpart, with one exception—*Le Devoir*. *Le Devoir* is the exception which proves the rule. Its independent editorial policy (it was the only paper which came out unequivocally against the War Measures Act) testifies

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Media . . .

continued from page 5

to the inter-relation between ownership patterns and editorial policy.

Montreal, along with Quebec City and St. John's, are the only three cities in Canada where an independent daily actually competes with chain papers.

La Presse, on the other hand, whose lock-out of workers attempting to form a common front, in October 1971, caused one of the most brutal police attacks on workers in Quebec's history, is owned by La Compagnie de Publication La Presse Limitée. One hundred percent of the common shares of the publishing company is owned by Gesca Ltée, a wholly owned subsidiary of Entreprises Gelco Ltée, the common stock of which is 75 percent owned by Paul Desmarais and 25 percent owned by Jean Parisien. Desmarais also owns 100 percent of the preferred shares of La Compagnie de Publication La Presse Ltée, itself.

Desmarais controls 30 percent of Power Corporation and is its Chairman and Chief Executive Officer. The major subsidiaries of this highly diversified corporation are Canada Steamship Lines, of which Power owns 50.5 percent, Dominion Glass (62.7 percent), Campeau Corporation (54 percent) and the The Investors Group (50.3 percent directly and 7.04 percent through Imperial Life, of which Power controls 51 percent). Power also holds 54 percent of Laurentide Financial Corporation and its major non-subsidiary companies include Consolidated Bathurst, and Northern and Central Gas.

Desmarais, Parisien, and Jacques Francoeur also control Les Journaux Trans-Canada Ltée. Desmarais owns 46.6 percent, Parisien owns 15.56 percent and Francoeur owns 33.3 percent. This company publishes three dailies (one each in Granby, Sherbrooke and Trois-Rivières) with a total circulation of 97,586. Its other interests are the weeklies *Dernière Heure, Dimanche-Matin, La Patrie, Le Petit Journal* and *Photo Journal*, and 11 local weeklies.

Le Journal de Montréal is published by Québecor Inc., owned by Pierre Peladeau. Québecor also publishes *Le Journal de Québec* and 8 "pop" weeklies such as *Allô Police* and *Photo-Vedettes*.

Montréal Matin, which is not owned by a publishing group, is controlled in another way. It is in the hands of Unité-Québec, formerly l'Union Nationale, the party of Maurice Duplessis.

The above analysis of ownership patterns of Montreal papers indicates that control of the press is based on the same economic organization and financial advantages common to any corporate enterprise. The fact that, legally, the right to publish exists does not guarantee a free press. Apart from ownership, one can look at the control advertising exercises over the press.

It has by now become a truism to state that any publication which wants support in the form of advertising from large corporations must maintain an editorial policy consistent with the interests of those corporations.

This does not mean that advertisers verbally dictate editorial policy but that corporations wield power by their ability to withdraw financial support. Likewise, owners do not tyrannically impose their views on the editor. Their main criterion in choosing an editor is the past record of the particular individual. This process of selection permeates the entire structure so that a cub reporter knows that if he is to rise to the top, he must fall into line.

The image of an omnipotent publisher no longer applies, but effective control is still in the hands of the publisher and corporate advertisers. In the words of last year's contender for the editorship of the *McGill Daily*, Timothy Denton, "he who pays the piper calls the tune."

Noumoff . . .

continued from page 1

China was low, and generally controlled by a small group of people. Furthermore, this technical elite represented a certain group in society whose values did not reflect the values and aspirations of the emerging new society. There was a risk that this unintegrated elite would serve to perpetuate the values of capitalist society through the educational system.

The solution to this problem was a dissemination of technological know-how among the masses of people themselves, through a process of "pass-down" technology.

The risk of bureaucratization of the government structure was also confronted and dealt with by the May 7th School, where functionaries go for a part of every year to participate in productive work. At the May 7th School, they are forced to examine their own attitudes and retain contact with the masses of people.

The question of material incentives posed ideological as well as practical problems. Noumoff illustrated the point by relating an incident that took place in a certain factory where concern for bonuses interfered with productive efficiency. Quality slipped and disproportionate production of certain parts resulted in an oversupply of one component and an undersupply of another. Once this was recognized, efforts were made to restore a concern for the overall efficiency and productivity and to eliminate the bourgeois notion of personal material gain.

Noumoff showed films he shot while in China during the summer of 1971. A good portion of the film showed performances by a commune group and a factory dance troupe. Both involved the anti-Japanese campaign and agricultural and industrial productivity as major themes, illustrating the effect the Cultural Revolution has had on all aspects of Chinese life.

In review

The Press and the Cold War

The Press and the Cold War by James Aronson. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., Indianapolis, New York, 1970, 308 pp., $8.00

The Press and the Cold War is a penetrating analysis of the capitalist press in the United States of America with particular attention to the role of the press as an instrument of American Cold War policy.

It is difficult to imagine anyone better qualified to discuss this subject. James Aronson began his journalistic career and political education on the *Boston Evening Transcript* in 1937. From there he moved to the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *New York Post* and finally, after a stint in postwar Germany trying to set up a de-Nazified press for the U.S. Army's Information Control Division, he went to work for the *New York Times*. Two years later, in 1948, he left the Times to set up the *National Guardian* with Cedric Belfrage and John T. McManus. From then until his resignation as editor of the *National Guardian* in 1967, Aronson participated in the paper's many battles against U.S. policies, battles such as the one to save the Rosenbergs and the long campaigns against the Korean and Vietnam wars.

Aronson begins his book by showing the economic foundation of the press, its gradual concentration into the present chains and conglomerates by a process of mergers and its dependence on advertising. For example, he gives statistics showing that in 1900 there were 2,200 daily newspapers in the U.S.; by 1969 there were only 1,753. The ratio of editorial matter to advertising was 60 percent to 40 percent before World War II. Today the reverse is true.

Aronson succeeds in showing that the American press does not reflect the American people's mind. It reflects the views of established power which in turn seeks to mould the American mind to suit its prejudices. The press seeks to shape public opinion, or even to replace public opinion by fostering and presenting a unanimity of view which it then offers as public opinion.

Aronson then proceeds to trace this process from the beginnings of the Cold War, which actually dates from world capitalism's terrified reaction to the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 and the round-up of thousands of suspected subversives in the U.S. during the raids conducted by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer in 1920. How many people know that some 400 political prisoners were marched through the streets of Boston in chains during that period? Aronson quotes from a New York Times editorial of January 5, 1920: "If some or any of us, impatient for the swift confusion of the Reds, have ever questioned the alacrity, resolute will and fruitful, intelligent vigor of the Department of Justice in hunting down these enemies of the United States, the questioners have now cause to approve and applaud. . . .This raid is only the beginning . . . the Department's further activities should be far-reaching and beneficial."

The press has continued with the anti-communist crusade ever since the 1920's. The history of this "crusade" is both sad and infuriating. It shows the corruption of the men and women who write, edit, and thereby manage the news.

Aronson demonstrates how most of the journalists who covered the antics of Joseph McCarthy were perfectly aware of the fact that he was one of the outstanding liars of his time; and yet they turned him into a national figure. The press only began to turn against McCarthy when he started attacking the newspapers. But even then they defended themselves by invoking their anti-communist purity and never by challenging the basic assumptions of anti-communism itself. A particularly disgusting example was set by James Weschler, editor of the *New York Post*, who supplied McCarthy with a list of sixty persons whom he knew to be Communists during the time he was a member of the Young Communist League. Among the people he named were a number of his fellow workers at the Post.

At no time has the press acted in ignorance of its role as propaganda arm of the U.S. Government. There is enough evidence, claims Aronson, to prove that the Korean War was initiated by South Korea with full knowledge of the U.S. authorities. And yet to this day most Americans believe that the North invaded the South. In one of those rare moments of candour on the part of U.S. newsmen, Robert C. Miller of the United Press said in a speech before the Nevada Editors Conference in 1952:

"There are certain facts and stories from Korea that editors and publishers have printed which were pure fabrication. You didn't know that when you printed them. Many of us who sent the stories knew they were false, but we had to write them because they were official releases from responsible military headquarters, and were released for publication even though the people responsible knew they were untrue."

The Cuban Revolution and President Kennedy's open call for self-censorship by the press "in the national interest" was followed by Vietnam War. Some correspondents dared to dissent from the official version of events in Vietnam. However, their dissent never went so far as to question the validity of U.S. intervention in Vietnam, because that would mean questioning the basic postulates of the entire cold war—that is, of the global struggle between American imperialism and the peoples fighting for their liberation—and the press cannot do that without questioning its own existence. And finally, even though the press reacted with indignation to Vice-President Agnew's blast at the "liberal" media, it ultimately brought its editorial policies even closer in line with Administration policy. Agnew, perhaps, was aware that his adversaries were paper tigers.

Aronson places little faith in the ability of the press to reform itself, the only hope is the creation of an alternative news system.

Says Aronson:

"But above all, it seems to me, a public determined to achieve the dissemination of honest and unhibited information, comment, and interpretation of the news must take radical alternative action . . . The purpose of such an alternative press would be, first, to expose and discredit the misinformation and false interpretation of the news, and to fill in omissions in the general press; second, to offer a credible substitute for the press as it exists today, prepared in a fasvhion that would win the confidence of an ever-widening audience."

The Press and the Cold War is a book that can be highly recommended both to those who are seeking an alternative channel of information and to those who still swallow the myth of freedom of press in the United States of America.

Nesar Ahmad

The McGill Ski Team will hold a
USED SKI EQUIPMENT

SALE

If you have any ski or sports equipment you want to sell bring it to:

Currie Gym Rm G22 (main door, follow signs)
Nov. 27-Dec 6 12:00-2:00 and 4:00-6:00
Sat Dec. 2 10:00 AM-5:00 PM

If you want to BUY some top quality cheap equipment the sale itself is on:
Dec 7, 8 12:00-6:00 in Currie Gym
Dec 9 10:00-5:00 Room G22

McGILL
MEN'S INTRAMURALS

SQUASH CLUB

All male students interested in joining the McGill Squash Club are invited to attend a meeting on Monday, Nov. 27, at 5:15 p.m. in room G 20 of the Currie Gym.

Club Activities
Squash Clinics by Montreal Club Professional
Ladder tournaments
Inter Club tournaments

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Tuesday Nov. 28

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for today may we suggest..

Baguette sandwich with your choice of filling from our Special sandwich counter... or cottage cheese bowl with molasses... or granola with fruit... from our health counter... or one of our daily specials... or spaghetti with meat balls from our cafeteria... or (Polish or Hungarian or German sausages with horseradish) or steak from our grill room... or pizza... or french pastry with cappuccino from our coffee shop...

from your cafeteria... at the Union

He'll be following bagels now

by elliott pap

Boy, you wouldn't believe the pressure I've been under lately. Pressure? Yes, pressure. From whom, you ask? Pressure from all those term papers, assignments, and tests? Not really. Pressure from Mom and Dad to shape up and get a part-time job? Not exactly. Pressure from those many foxy ladies chasing me around campus cause they crave my body? No, it's not that either. (Dammit!)

Well, what's it been then? Okay, I won't keep everyone on tenterhooks any longer. The pressure has been from you, the common people of McGill, clamouring for more ridiculous articles on intramural sports. So fear not Joe Jock, Al Athlete, and Ira Intramural, if you play floor hockey your exploits will not go unheeded.

Perhaps some people aren't familiar with this game called floor hockey. It's played with broomsticks and a felt ring (also known as a "bagel" depending on your ethnic origin). A player places his stick inside the ring and then proceeds to run around the floor like a mad fool in an effort to shoot the ring behind his opponents' goalie and into the net. There is lots of body contact in floor hockey and all I can say to that is, it's a pity this is not a coed sport!

Last year the championship was won by a team called the Greater Omentums. If that name sounds familiar, it is because the Greater Omentums are related to the Lesser Omentums of the touch football league. The Greaters feature a host of ex-Redmen footballers who use their hitting prowess to advantage and, once in a while, even to intimidation. The Greaters can be rated as early season favourites to repeat as champions.

The league has been in operation for three weeks already. Every Wednesday evening up at the gym, six games are played between the hours of 5 and 10 o'clock. These games are played in almost total seclusion because no one ever comes to watch. The reasons for this are unknown but by doing a little research, maybe some answers can be found.

Here are some questions:
I do not attend floor hockey games because (1) I don't know when the fames are. (2) I have to go home for supper and then wash my hair. (3) I have to study for an exam. (4) I can't afford the admission charge. (5) This survey sucks.

If you said yes for questions 1-4 you have no excuse because (a) you now know when the games are, (b) you can fry an egg on your greasy hair and eat that for supper, (c) cramming for exams isn't healthy and (d) admission is a big zero. However, if you replied yes to question 5, you might have a good case.

Actually, all this frivilous fanfare is to announce that I will periodically be reporting on the floor hockey league during the next few months. In the next article, I'll have a look at some specific games so you players out there better score lots and lots of goals if you want to have your place in the sun.

In conclusion, I'd like to remind any bowlegged guy with a knocked-kneed girlfriend that they're OK in my books.

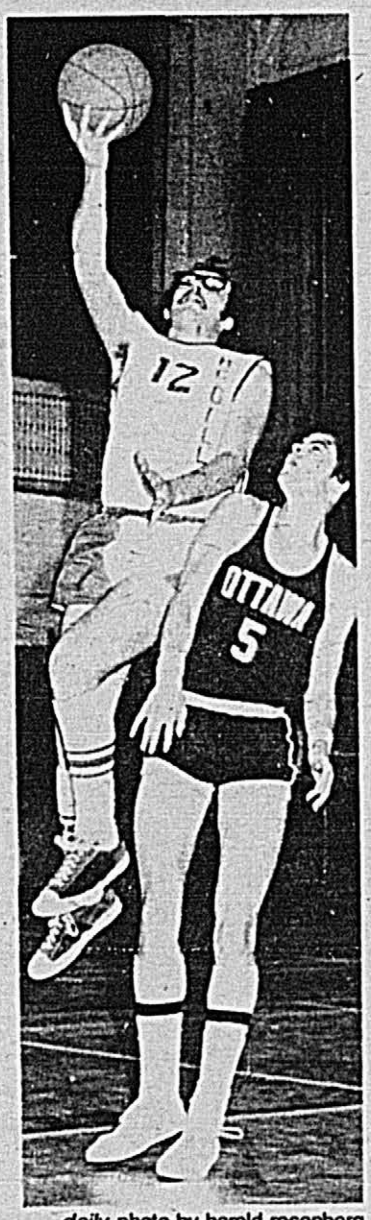
Good Clean Fun

Tonight is the night for the fans to redeem themselves as the Redmen Cagers take on Collège Militaire Royale at 8:00 pm in the Currie Gym. Get it together folks, and get on the "Fun times for all Bandwagon."

CMR has height, but we've got the speed and flash to leave all those big-boys behind in the dust. The Redmen record for league play stands at one win and one loss and our cagers have their collective eyes on the now vacant second place in league standing.

This squad is looking forward to a hard fought contest and a big win. They can win and hopefully it will come about as simplistically as "Following the correct line on the baseline" and going up for two points.

So Fans do your thing. Show up at the gym in savage anticipation of better times to come. Our boys in Red are on the move.



daily photo by harold rosenberg

JOE PRAH drives by an Ottawa defender.

Chem Grads avenged in soccer win

by thierry neubert

Chem Grads are the new intramural soccer champions. Before a dozen spectators they defeated Mets, the titleholders, 2-0 in a dour final. The calibre of play never reached great heights and both teams seemed particularly slow in moving the ball. That it was ten o'clock on a Saturday morning and that the pitch was covered with sticky mud may have been reponsiible for this.

Right from the kick-off Chem Grads pressed forward and were soon rewarded with two 'gift' goals. At the four minute mark a weak shot, well covered by the Mets' goalkeeper, was unfortunately deflected by a defender into his own net. Six minutes later, the chemists struck again: a Mets player, in an attempt to intercept a dangerous cross from the right wing, only succeeded in placing the ball at the feet of the chemists' aggressive centre forward. The latter calmly slammed it past the outstretched hands of a lunging goalkeeper. A rout appeared to be in the offing.

However the Mets' tightened up and from then on, neither side looked like scoring though Chemistry still held a territorial advantage. So the match ended.

The victory was sweet revenge for the chemists as last year Mets upset them (then known as PGSS) 1-0 in a great semi-final match before going on to win the championship. The chemists didn't forget this loss and though they have defeated Mets on five consecutive occasions since then, it was not until this all-important game that the spirit of PGSS was appeased.

To conclude this was another successful tournament run by the intramural department. Sandor Finkelstein, the organiser, and his referees did a very good job in handling the 20 teams representing 300 fiery soccer players. Well done!

Sports

Play-by-play

by allan wolfe

Fighting in Hockey

This time, let's discuss the merits of fighting in hockey and let me ask, and answer, three questions: 1. Is it necessary to keep fighting in hockey? 2. To what extent? 3. What happens if fighting is eliminated?

Hockey, by its very nature, is a violent sport. It is also a contact sport, and violent contact frays nerves. All of this breeds the urge to return to the other player what he gave to you. Therefore, it is my contention that fighting has, and always will be, a major element of hockey. To rule against it is to detract from the game. The players must have that valve to release steam and pent-up frustrations.

However, as is evident from years gone by, if fighting is uncontrolled, the donnybrook ensues. The donnybrook is fun to watch, the odd time. But when it becomes a fact of life, well, let's all watch Roller Derby. I may be a part of the minority, but when I go to see a hockey game, I would rather *not* see a fight.

The unfortunate point that we must examine now is that fighting is a necessary fact of life, so far as getting the fan into the rink is concerned. Take as a for-instance the Montreal Junior Canadiens' game of three years ago, the one that produced the largest crowd to ever watch a hockey game in Canada. That game was preceded by the Juniors' playing in Kitchener, and getting some 160 minutes in penalties between the two teams. The fans came to the Forum to see more of the same. They were disappointed, and as a result were anemic in attendance thereafter.

On the same idea, John Ferguson drew the crowds for the parent Habs, as Alan Globensky drew them for the Juniors. It's an unfortunate fact of life that the fighter will help to bring in the crowds.

Back to my questions. I have already said that fighting must remain. But to what extent? I think that the NHL has come up with the best method of combatting the donnybrook that has yet to be devised. That is the "third-man-in" rule. The rule eliminates the donnybrook, because whomever wants to enter a fight now knows that he must be able to fight the opposition. No more will Big Brother come in to help. For if he does, he is out of the ballgame.

Now, what happens if fighting is eliminated altogether? The game degenerates into a rash of chippy penalties and a lot of two-minute roughing calls, where a five-minute sit in the penalty box would better serve to cool the tempers. The league that the Redmen play in features this rule, and I think that it is stupid. Especially in hockey below the professional level, where tempers fray all the more. Here the fellows play because they want to, not for the money, and to deprive them the opportunity of playing part of the game because of fighting is just not fair.

Therefore, if you want to watch fights go see a wrestling match, the WHA or a Roller Derby game. But if you want to see hockey, watch any league that features the "third-man-in" rule. There, I think, you will see hockey as it can best be presented.

Follow the Redmen

The basketball team is at home tonight, hosting CMR at 8:00 pm. Saturday afternoon at 3:00 pm they entertain Albany in an exhibition match. Tuesday night, SGWU visits, starting at 8:00 pm.

The hockey Redmen dont return home until next week. Friday, December 1, they host the visiting Bishop's squad. All games can be heard on Radio McGill.

That's all for now.

See you later...